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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

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ERRATA.——Page 26. line 28. read *propaganda*. P. 54. l. 3. from bot. read *maritimum*. P. 76. l. 25. r. *verſatique*. P. 89. l. 28. for *this* r. *the*. P. 95. l. 8. r. *patriots*. P. 167. l. 31. r. *led him*. P. 228. l. 28. r. *Slanie*. P. 264. l. 15. r. *Kiehtan*.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1801.

REMARKS UPON REMARKS, ETC. IN THE FIRST PAGE OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME OF THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

TO blame a work confeſſedly unfiniſhed, becauſe it did not produce its authorities, is certainly wrong, unleſs the author's intentions are declared. So far was it from the intention of the writer to conceal them, that he had actually prepared a liſt of them, and even a review of them, that the world might judge of the value he put upon them. As to the danger of rendering the Inſtitution accountable for any errors, there was no reader ſo ignorant as to imagine, that when he ſaw one man's name at the head of a paper, the accountableneſs belonged to another. The truth is, the work was handed in ſeparate ſheets, and the notes could not be attached to them. To be told that perſonalities are ſuppreſſed in a matter of mere hiſtory, is to publiſh that the whole is the work of an enemy; and after ſuch a declaration, we cannot expect a very happy attempt at truth or candour. The authorities are ſadly aſſociated, as living near the times. Inſtead of the court records, and the records of Salem, and the works printed in the Controverſy, we are referred to Morton, who lived in another colony, and Cotton Mather, whoſe grandfather had not then reached America, and whoſe father was not born. We then come down, in the ſame family, to Hutchinſon, in our own times, and find at laſt, Hubbard, of the next generation to that we are to examine. Theſe names are thrown together to anſwer the ſame purpoſe as perſonalities.

The ſubject of the Remark, is the character of Mr. Roger Williams, which we are to vindicate from the aſperſions of his adverſaries. The character was penned with great deliberation, and without any prepoſſeſſion, and admits of an ample vindication. To underſtand the controverſy, we muſt examine the times in which he lived. The ſettlements had juſt begun, the government had juſt aſſumed its form, the laws had not been enacted, and the ſeat of government had not been fixed. It was the unhappineſs of Mr. Williams to decide, that the government did not depend on the patent, nor the church upon the government. Theſe were the great errors into which he fell; but theſe were points which Penn better defined, or rather admitted, free from any local controverſy, and by which he gained immortality. To convince us of the importance of theſe queſtions, we ſhould remember, that at the ſame time Georges projected a plan of a general government, and that, on the next year after the controverſy ended, Winthrop was ordered to return his patent; and we ought alſo to remember, that Winthrop and the ſettlers did not form their government from the patent.

In ſhort, in conſequence of theſe opinions, Mr. Williams was obliged to leave his charge and retire to Plymouth, but ſoon was induced to return to Salem, with new friends who had joined him. Morton, who lived in the Old Colony, ſays he ſtaid three years; Mather, about two, and truth, not one year. Upon his return, he at firſt contented himſelf with preaching, and accepted no office; but at laſt he was prevailed upon to become the Teacher of the Church of Salem. This ſo incenſed the men, who had occaſioned the former ſeparation, that deſperate meaſures were adopted to ſeparate him from his charge. Every expedient was uſed for this purpoſe; books and papers were put into the hands of the church; preachers were ſent into his charge; injurious reports were ſpread; and, as Governor Winthrop honeſtly confeſſes, that the claims of land were refuſed to the people becauſe they choſe him; and even their deputies were refuſed by the government.

Williams ſays, that his life was in danger, by his exceſſive labours; preaching thrice a week, by labours night and day in the field, and by travels night and day to go and return from court.

But could a man who ſaid, as Governor Winthrop aſſures us, that he wrote only for private friends on the patent, and would burn the writings with his own hands to quiet the public fears, be charged with obſtinacy? Did not his friends ſend *Delegates* to the government? Could cloſe communion be oppoſed to it? Did not the government admit that it might be lawfully granted? Did he not obey every ſummons? Did he not appear ready to defend his cauſe at every opportunity? If he wrote a letter to all the churches, did not the government give the example, and was it any thing unuſual at this time?—There was a meeting of this kind by letter from the government in the ſame year.

As to the ſneer at his piety, his piety was ſo well known that Mr. Cotton reproaches Williams "that he held himſelf acknowledged, *godly and beloved.*" Such a ſneer muſt have been indulged from ſome public opinion. The people of Salem were pious, if any were ſo, and after all the reports, Cotton gives it as his opinion in their favour, that they never did ſeparate from the churches; it muſt then have been only a threatening. This church had this high opinion. And that the magiſtrates had an opinion of their ſincerity, the officer may atteſt, "who denies that he thought Mr. Williams ſick, and that the warrant did not oblige him to go that night, but that he had learnt *the concourſe to him increaſing*, provoked the magiſtrates." So he was hurried into baniſhment.

As to his having never been forſaken. If the ſubmiſſion of the church to the act of diſmiſſion, be a proof, then his firſt ſeparation is a proof. Yet they loved him well enough to recal him when they dared, and with all that caution which expreſſes intereſt and affection. It may be affirmed that better proofs cannot exiſt of the permanent effect of opinion and character, than are to be found in Salem for a century. They uſed the greateſt caution about the authority of the ſynods, and dared even to queſtion the right of prior choice in the church, of the miniſter; and as ſoon as they heard of Penn's purchaſe, they purchaſed their lands of ſuch Indians as they could find, though fifty years afterwards, ſtill remembering the doctrine of the patent. We repeat then all our aſſertions. As to the refuſal of the freeman's oath, it was a conſequent affair.—He was one of the freemen before May, 1631; and his name is on the liſt of one hundred and eight, at that time. As to his ſeparation, it is eaſily explained by Governor Winthrop; for he ſays, after the ſubmiſſion of Salem, *moſt of them* held Williams's opinion, though only a few applied for liberty of cloſe communion. And what is this but a confeſſion, that the ſubmiſſion was political, and therefore ſuch as his true friends would never aſk of him?

The candid man will find that Williams was the forerunner of Penn in this weſtern world. He had as hard a fate. But like Penn, after all he ſuffered, he is immortal. He was a father of a free colony, and even in this generation his name is bleſſed.

P. S. As the merit of Mr. Williams has been queſtioned, it may be agreeable to hear him ſpeaking for himſelf. "I did not aſſent to the church, becauſe undue influence was uſed to intimidate them, contrary to their firſt aſſent or inclination; and the voice of the church and admonition was not to deſert my miniſtry. Some gentlemen, who conſented to the ſentence againſt me, ſolemnly teſtified with tears, that they did it by the advice and counſel of Mr. Cotton, who ſays, "if he did counſel *one or two*, it would not argue the act of the magiſtrate!" This good man, after his baniſhment, ſent notice next year of the dangers from the natives, and ſaved the colony, which enjoyed, from this ſeaſonable interpoſition, a quiet of forty years. Where ſhall we find more true virtue, more generous forgiveneſs, or a greater public benefactor? Had Governor Winthrop been at liberty to concur with Endicot, and not have been deterred by the competition of Boſton and Salem, Williams would have lived and died in Salem.*

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* For the future, no remarks of a polemick nature will be publiſhed in this work. Theſe volumes are not calculated even for *hiſtorical* controverſy.

The book, or any part of it, is ſubjective to a *review*; and there are many publications more proper for the critick to diſplay his acumen, and to diſtribute either praiſe or cenſure. As the Remarks upon the Hiſtory of Salem were admitted, it is but juſt to give place to the author's reply.

THE HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF JOHN ELIOT, THE FIRST MINISTER OF THE CHURCH IN ROXBURY. COLLECTED FROM MANUSCRIPTS, AND BOOKS PUBLISHED THE LAST CENTURY. BY ONE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THE firſt ſettlers of New-England were a pious and hardy race. The miniſters of religion were equally reſpectable for their learning, for their activity, and their zeal. Among them, John Eliot, commonly called the Apoſtle to the Indians, exhibited more lively traits of an extraordinary character than we find in moſt ages of the church, or in moſt chriſtian countries. He, who could prefer the American wilderneſs to the pleaſant fields of Europe, was ready to wander through this wilderneſs for the ſake of doing good. To be active was the delight of his ſoul; and he went to the hovels which could not keep out the wind and rain, where he laboured inceſſantly among the aboriginals of America, though his popular talents gave him a diſtinction among the firſt divines of Maſſachuſetts, at a time that the magiſtrates and all the people held the clergy in peculiar honour.

We know but little of his connections before he left his native country. He was born in England, A. D. 1604. There is nothing related of his parents, except that they gave him a liberal education, and were exemplary for their piety;—for this their memory is precious.

"I do ſee," ſays this excellent man, "that it was a great favour of God to me that my firſt years were ſeaſoned with the fear of God, the word and prayer." Is there not ſufficient encouragement to educate ingenuous youth, and impreſs the tender heart with leſſons of wiſdom, to think they will ſhed tears of grateful ſenſibility on our ſepulchres?

When Mr. Eliot left the univerſity of Cambridge, he himſelf became a teacher; and while he led children and youth into the paths of virtue, acquired alſo an acquaintance with the human heart. At this time he had an opportunity of hearing the venerable Hooker, and never loſt the ſerious impreſſions which he received under his preaching; to him he was always attached, as well as to his mode of adminiſtering the order of the churches.

In the year 1631, Mr. Eliot arrived at Boſton; and the ſucceeding year, November 5, 1632, was ſettled as Teacher of the Church in Roxbury. Governor Winthrop ſays, "Mr. John Eliot, a member of Boſton congregation, whom the company intended preſently to call to the office of teacher, was called to be a teacher to the company at Roxbury; and though Boſton laboured all they could, both with the congregation at Roxbury and with Mr. Eliot himſelf, alledging their want of him, and the covenant between them, yet he could not be diverted from accepting the call at Roxbury; ſo he was diſmiſſed."

When Mr. Eliot came to Boſton, the preceding year, there was no miniſter at the Firſt Church. Mr. Wilſon had gone to England, and the religious ſervice was carried on by Governor Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Nowel, the ruling elder. Mr. Hubbard ſays theſe men accepted the charge, "knowing well that the princes of Judah, in king Hezekiah's reign, were appointed to teach the people out of the law of God."

Mr. Wilſon left Boſton the latter end of March, 1631. Mr. Eliot arrived November following, with the Governor's lady and ſixty other perſons, in the ſhip Lyon. He immediately joined the Firſt Church, and preached with them till he ſettled at Roxbury. Had he accepted the call from the Firſt Church, it might have been happy for the people; but moſt probably the great work which he afterwards undertook, would not have been deviſed, and for this he was very peculiarly qualified. But had the connection taken place, thoſe animoſities might have been prevented, which afterwards divided the church, baniſhed the chriſtian ſpirit from their councils, and diſturbed the whole community. Mr. Cotton, who was called to be their teacher, was a learned and excellent man, but opinionated; countenanced Wheelwright, Mrs. Hutchinſon, and others, who were ſpreading antinomian errors through all the churches. The paſtor, Mr. Wilſon, Governor Winthrop, and Mr. Dudley, ſupported and defended the principles and practices of the churches before this fanatical woman, Mrs. Hutchinſon, came into the country. With them were the miniſters and people of the other congregations; but Vane was governor, a hot-brained enthuſiaſt, and under his wing Mr. Cotton carried on the oppoſition againſt the paſtor; the church was divided; mutual cenſures paſſed between the brethren, and every thing, eſpecially their eccleſiaſtical affairs, wore a moſt gloomy aſpect. Amidſt this melancholy kind of embarraſſment, the prudence and good ſenſe of Governor Winthrop were conſpicuous. Such abilities and ſo much candour as he poſſeſſed were abſolutely neceſſary for the times.

The prior engagement of Mr. Eliot to ſettle with the people at Roxbury, who came over with him in the ſame ſhip, and to whom he was warmly attached, was ſufficient to ſatisfy his friends of the church in Boſton, and they gave him a regular diſmiſſion. He was accordingly united with the church at Roxbury as their teacher, and Mr. Welde was called the next year to be their paſtor. They lived in much harmony; and under their miniſtry the town grew and flouriſhed;—it ſtill retains a rank of diſtinction among the beſt places in the environs of the metropolis.

In the year 1641, Mr. Welde was ſent to England as agent for the Province, where he continued till the reign of Charles II. He then loſt his living (at Gateſend in the biſhoprick of Durham) with the other ejected miniſters; but he did not return again to New-England. Mr. Welde and Mr. Eliot happily coaleſced in ſentiment, were both firm in the congregational intereſt, and equally firm in oppoſing the errors of antinomianiſm. There is a book now extant—*Welde's Short Story of the riſe, reign, and ruin of the antinomians, familiſts, and libertines, that infected the churches.* It is a ſcarce and curious book; but while it points out the extravagances of their opinions and conduct, it ſhows that in the bitterneſs of diſpute, a pious author may not know what ſpirit he is of.

The trial of Mrs. Hutchinſon is a precious document for thoſe who would know the manners, cuſtoms, and principles of our fathers. And we may here learn ſomething of the character of Mr. Eliot. He, with ſeveral other miniſters, had viſited her, converſed freely upon religious ſubjects, and expoſtulated with her concerning things which were become matters of notoriety; eſpecially her manner of cenſuring the miniſters of the Plantation: all of whom ſhe condemned, except Mr. Cotton, or Wheelwright. The ſpiritual tone of her mind was diſcovered in this converſation; nor could the apparatus of the judicial court, and the voice of the magiſtrates, when ſhe was before their tribunal, and who ſet themſelves in array againſt her principles, ſhake her mind. She was not to be ſoftened by perſuaſion, nor moved by terror. The Roxbury divines were ſwift witneſſes againſt her. Nor was their *zeal* tempered with much condeſcenſion or kindneſs. For prejudices are not *always* the effuſions of a weak mind. Great and worthy men manifeſt ſometimes that they are influenced by them. When Mr. Eliot and his colleague gave their teſtimony, ſhe denied that they gave an accurate or true report. Being aſked what ſhe did ſay, ſhe would give no direct anſwer, till they were put upon oath. Her object was to convict them of falſehood, although there were ſeveral other miniſters beſide the gentlemen we have mentioned, all of whom joined in the ſame report. She relied, however, on Mr. Cotton's evidence, and the aſſiſtance of the magiſtrates who were her friends, and earneſt in the cauſe. Cunning as well as fanatical, ſhe by her much quibbling puzzled the court; and ſhe had well digeſted her means of defence. It was a fortunate circumſtance that Mr. Eliot had written down the converſation which he and the other miniſters had with this woman; and bringing forward theſe memoranda, he was able to ſhow their conſiſtency, if not their candour. "We deſire to know of her," ſaid he, "and her witneſſes, what they deny; and then we will ſpeak upon oath. I know nothing that we have ſpoken of, but what we may ſwear to."

There is ſome propriety in glancing at public affairs during this period, eſpecially what took place at the trial of Mrs. Hutchinſon; for we here learn Mr. Eliot's ſentiments of impulſes—*thoſe impreſſions* which influence the lives of many profeſſors of the goſpel beyond any moral principles, and which are not confined to one ſect or denomination of chriſtians. Mrs. Hutchinſon ſaid, in the courſe of her trial, that ſhe knew *God ſpake to her, juſt as Abraham knew that it was the command of Heaven to ſacrifice Iſaac.*

Thus we ſee the propriety of connecting faith and reaſon, or we cannot properly deſcribe the *chriſtian's hope*: for we often find people, who are not obliged to anſwer before a court, yet have much the ſame idea of the witneſs of the ſpirit, which in this age cauſed ſo much confuſion. It is very difficult to diſcriminate between their impreſſions and particular revelations. When a paſſage was quoted from one of Mr. Hooker's ſermons, to juſtify her manner of ſpeaking, Mr. Eliot inſiſted upon it publicly that it was contrary to Mr. Hooker's mind and judgment. He alſo expreſſed his opinion againſt *impulſes* ſo ſtrongly, as to offend others, and even draw a moderate reproof from his old friend, Governor Winthrop. "I ſay there is an expectation of things promiſed; but to have a particular revelation of things, as they ſhall fall out, there is no ſuch thing in the ſcripture." The worthy magiſtrate obſerved upon this—"We muſt not limit the word of God."

The famous Hugh Peters gave his oath with Mr. Welde and Mr. Eliot, and related the converſation which was ſaid to be exactly as others had teſtified upon their word—*that Mrs. Ann Hutchinſon declared Mr. Cotton preached a covenant of grace, and the other miniſters a covenant of works.* Mr. Eliot further added, "I do remember this alſo, that ſhe ſaid we were not able and faithful miniſters of the new covenant, becauſe we were like the apoſtles before the aſcenſion." The reſult of this trial is well known. The errors of that unhappy woman ought not to have cauſed her baniſhment, nor even her hard ſpeeches to have provoked the angry return ſhe received. Whatever were her faults, her tragical end has excited the compaſſion of many even of her moſt pointed enemies, and made them forget all her excentricities.

Before Mr. Eliot left England he had formed a connection with a lady who ſoon after came over to America, and they were married in Boſton. With this amiable, virtuous and ſenſible woman he paſſed the journey of life. She was the tender companion of his youth, and ſhe lived to be the ſtaff of his old age.

In the year 1639, there was an agreement among the magiſtrates and miniſters to ſet aſide the pſalms then printed at the end of their bibles, and ſing one more congenial to their ideas of religion. Mr. Welde, Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Richard Mather, were ſelected to make a metrical tranſlation. Every good Hebrewician is not a poet, and the taſte for poetry is not the ſame with every generation. When we read the *New-England Pſalms* we are not to ſuppoſe our fathers were without taſte, or had no muſic in their ſouls, becauſe WE are not raviſhed, as in reading the more tuneful ſtanzas of Watts, or the charming poetry of Addiſon. At that time, the only verſions of the Pſalms were by Ainſworth, by the Scotch Preſbyterians, or the more famous metrical tranſlation by Sternhold and Hopkins.—When we ſpeak of the *New-England verſion*, let it be compared with theſe, and we ſhall not be ſo much ſurpriſed that they paſſed through twenty editions. The old church of Plymouth did not receive them till the latter part of the century. They had a veneration for Ainſworth, whoſe character in Holland they well remembered, and who was one of the greateſt ſcholars the Puritans had to boaſt of. But all the other churches in New-England adopted the verſions which theſe divines made. They were continued in many churches within the memory of the preſent generation; and ſince the American revolution, there have been ſome people who reluctantly exchanged them for verſions more adapted to the improvements which have been made in muſical compoſitions and poetic arrangements.

We are told by our early writers, that the Pſalms in their preſent form were much altered for the better by Mr. Dunſter, Preſident of Harvard College, a very accompliſhed ſcholar, who completed the tranſlation and the metre. It ſeems that the miniſters who undertook the work did not give ſatisfaction to other divines, who might perhaps feel the ſlight, thinking that THEY ought to be among the poets. Mr. Shepherd, of Cambridge, thus addreſſes them:

* Ye Roxbury poets, keep clear of the crime
Of miſſing to give us very good rhyme;
And you of Dorcheſter, your verſes lengthen,
But with the texts own words, you will them ſtrengthen.

It was reſenting the thing in metre with a witneſs.

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* Magnalia. Life of Dunſter.

This narration, concerning the New-England Pſalms, is not introduced to gain any particular credit to the *Subject of the Memoirs*, nor is it ſuppoſed that the reputation of moraliſts and divines depends upon their taſte for poetry; but only mentioned as an event in his life, and to ſhow how ready he was to every good work aſſigned him.

We ſhall turn our attention from a part of his pious labours, where few of any age have given vivid colours to their literary excellence; and contemplate the more important ſcenes of his life, where he has a real diſtinction and character among the *Angels of the churches*, and a *name* to *live* not only on earth, but with thoſe good and faithful ſervants that have entered into the joy of their Lord. He has been frequently ſtyled an Evangeliſt—the *Apoſtle of America*, which touched his modeſty when he heard it, and which he deſired might not be fixed upon him; but it has been by European writers as well as the people of America.

He certainly was the moſt ſucceſsful Miſſionary that ever preached the Goſpel to the Indians. His prudence and zeal, his patience, reſolution, activity and knowledge of mankind, were equally conſpicuous. Many have done worthily in this benevolent work; but if we unite an *apt method* of applying the truths of Chriſtianity to the minds of the heathen with the ſucceſs of his labours, he far excelled them all. He likewiſe claims a very peculiar character, as being the firſt Proteſtant Miniſter who diffuſed the beams of evangelical truth among the wild nations of this benighted part of the globe. The tribes that roamed through the deſarts became dear to him, like his own people, and he often forſook the charms of civilized and cultivated ſociety, to reſide with men, who were not only unacquainted with every thing called *urbanity*, but who wanted comfortable means of ſubſiſtence; with whom he would aſſociate days and weeks to inſtruct them in divine things—and alſo acquaint them how they could improve their condition upon the earth. He partook with them their hard fare, with *locks* wet with the *dews of the night*, and expoſed to attacks from the beaſts of the foreſts; or to *their* ſpears and arrows who were fiercer than wolves, and more terrible in their howling. None of theſe things moved him, but he was more collected as he was in the face of danger; —like a brave ſoldier, he fought the good fight of faith, bearing every ſuffering with cheerfulneſs, and every pain with reſignation.

When our Indian Apoſtle began his miſſion, there were about ſeventeen or twenty tribes within the limits of the Engliſh planters. But theſe tribes were not large, and hardly to be diſtinguiſhed; for their manners, language, and religion were the ſame. The *Maſſachuſetts* language, in which he tranſlated the bible and ſeveral practical treatiſes, would ſerve the purpoſe of a miſſionary. The firſt thing he did was to learn this language of the people, and then he could preach without the medium of an interpreter, which is likely to cauſe miſtakes,—and ſometimes in material points. An old Indian, who could ſpeak Engliſh, was taken into his family, and by converſing freely with him he learnt to talk it, and ſoon was able to reduce it to ſome method, and became at laſt ſo much maſter of it, as to publiſh a grammar, which is printed in ſome editions of the Indian bibles.

On the 28th of October, 1646, he began to preach to the neighbouring Indians. His firſt diſcourſe was from Ezekiel xxxvii. 9. "Then ſaid he unto me, prophecy unto the wind; prophecy, ſon of man, and ſay unto the wind, Thus ſaith the Lord God, Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon theſe ſlain, that they might live. So I prophecied as he had commanded me, and the truth came unto them, and they lived, and ſtood upon their feet, an exceeding great army." Their mode of worſhip is thus deſcribed:* After a ſhort prayer, he rehearſed and explained the ten commandments. He then deſcribed the character of Chriſt; told them in what manner he appeared on earth, where he now is; and that he would again come to judgment, when the wicked ſhould be puniſhed, and the good rewarded. He ſpake of the creation and fall of man; then perſuaded them to repent, to pray to God, and own Chriſt as their Saviour. After ſermon, he deſired the Indians to aſk ſuch queſtions as occurred to their minds. One aſked immediately, *whether Jeſus Chriſt could underſtand prayers in the Indian language?* And, *whether Engliſhmen were ſo ignorant of Jeſus Chriſt as themſelves?*

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* Vid. Shepherd, Mather, &c.

themſelves? Another queſtion was, *How all the world became full of people, if they were all once drowned?* Here we ſee the language of nature. Other queſtions diſcovered more inquiry, and ſome kind of ſubtlety in the minds of men who are ſuppoſed to be intirely ſtupid. *Whether, if the child be good, and the parent naught, God will be offended with the child; becauſe God ſaith, in the ſecond commandment, that he viſits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children?* Again, *How could there be the image of God, ſince it was forbidden in the ſame commandment?*

Upon the 11th of November, there was another meeting, and a larger number of Indians than firſt appeared. Mr. Eliot began with the children, and aſked them three queſtions, and taught them how they ſhould anſwer.—*Q.* Who made you and all the world? *A.* God. *Q.* 2. Who do you expect ſhall ſave you from ſin and hell? *A.* Jeſus Chriſt. *Q.* 3. How many commandments has God given you to keep? *A.* Ten. Upon this occaſion alſo, he informed them how much Jeſus Chriſt had done for ſinners, and that they could not eſcape if they neglected this great ſalvation. His preaching appeared to touch the heart of theſe poor beings, the untutored offſpring of Adam; and they made ſerious inquiries, which manifeſted a deſire after knowledge. An old man, with tears in his eyes, aſked, *Whether it was not too late for him, an old man ſo near death, to repent and ſeek after God?* Another aſked, *How the Engliſh came to differ ſo much from the Indians in their knowledge of God and Jeſus Chriſt, ſince they all at firſt had but one father?* Another inquired, *How it came to paſs that ſea-water was ſalt, and river freſh?* Another, *That if the water was bigger than the earth, how it comes to paſs that it does not overflow the earth?* When the preacher had diſcuſſed theſe points as well as he was able, they expreſſed the ſatisfaction they received by ſaying, after their manner, *They did much thank God for his coming, and for what they had heard, which was wonderful news to them.*

It muſt ſhow a knowledge of human nature in this worthy Miſſionary, to adapt his queſtions to the Indians, ſuch as we propoſe to children in their tender age;—and that theſe children of riper years ſhould propoſe queſtions, which philoſophers of civilized nations have diſputed about, is worthy of the attention of the curious. Their minds were put into an agreeable ſtate of ſurpriſe, whilſt their hard hearts were melted with the divine compaſſions.

There were publications at the time, with emphatical title-pages, which gave a particular account of Mr. Eliot's *diſcourſe*, and his *talk* with the Indians. One book was called, *Day-breaking of the Goſpel in New-England*; another, *Shepherd's clear Sunſhine of the Goſpel upon the Indians.* Theſe were read by Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Neal, and perhaps by the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory—or they may quote from the Magnalia, where facts were ready to their hand, though the author is treated with ſo little reſpect.

Sometimes our laborious preacher met with oppoſition from the aboriginals. We read, that going a third time to Nonantum, he was worried with the Powaws, whom he choſe to combat rather than to avoid.

The ſachems likewiſe did every thing in their power to obſtruct the work; for they thought that they ſhould loſe their power and influence, if men had any other law to govern them than the authority in their hands, and Mr. Eliot has been met in the wilderneſs by thoſe men ſo inimical to religion and threatened with every evil if he made any more converſions. But he told them, "I am about the work of the great God, and he is with me, ſo that I fear not all the ſachems of the country, I'll go on, and do you touch me if you dare." This was courage, ſuch as brave men have. They conſider the dangers that lie in their way, and that to overcome them, is not to be afraid. With a body capable of enduring fatigue, and a mind firm as the mountain oaks which ſurrounded the path he trod, he went from place to place, and gathered ſheep for the fold of Chriſt, leading them from dry places into green paſtures, and to the pure ſtreams which flow from the Fountain of life. "Having firſt entered upon the teaching of theſe poor creatures," ſays a writer of his life, "it is incredible how much time, toil, and hardſhip, he underwent in the proſecution of his undertaking; how many weary days and nights rolled over him; how many tireſome journeys he endured; and how many terrible dangers he experienced. If you would know what he felt, and what carried him through all, take it in his own words, in a letter to the Honorable Mr. Winſlow. "I have not been dry, night or day, from the third day of the week unto the ſixth; but ſo travelled, and at night pull off my boots, wring my ſtockings, and on with them again, and ſo continue. But God ſteps in and helps. I have conſidered the word of God, 1 Tim. ii. 3, Endure hardſhip as a good ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt." Mather.

It has been a queſtion, whether the Indians muſt be civilized before they can be converted. Some have ſaid, that if they believe chriſtianity, the civilization will follow, and all that miſſionaries have to do is to tell them, Believe the goſpel. Others ſay, that all attempts to convert them in their preſent ſtate are abſurd, and that the labour has proved fruitleſs. As ſoon as they leave their fires, and have conſumed the proviſions which pious perſons have gathered for the good of the body, while the ſoul is to be edified with divine inſtruction, they loſe all impreſſions of ſeriouſneſs, though they may retain ſome favourable ſentiments towards the white people. One ſeaſon of hunting makes them complete Indians.

It was Mr. Eliot's opinion, that the Indians ſhould be "taken off from their wild way of living," and brought into ſome kind of civil ſociety; and there is an act of the General Court to this purpoſe, dated May 26, 1647:

"Upon the information that the Indians dwelling among us are brought to ſome kind of civility by the miniſtry of the word, and are deſirous *to have a court of ordinary judicature* ſet up among them; it is therefore ordered by the authority of this Court, that one or more of the magiſtrates ſhall, once every quarter, keep a court where the Indians ordinarily aſſemble to hear the word of God, to hear and determine all cauſes, both civil and criminal, not being capital, concerning the Indians only; and that the Indian ſachems ſhall have liberty to take orders in the nature of ſummons, or attachments, to bring any of their people to theſe courts; and to keep a court of themſelves every month, if they ſee occaſion, to determine ſmall cauſes of a civil nature, and ſuch ſmaller criminal cauſes as the magiſtrates ſhall refer to them; and the ſaid ſachems ſhall appoint officers to ſerve warrants, and to execute the orders and judgments of either of the ſaid courts; which officers ſhall be allowed from time to time by the ſaid magiſtrates in the quarter courts, or by the governor. And that all fines, impoſed upon any of the Indians, in ſaid courts, ſhall go and be beſtowed towards building of ſome meeting-houſes for the education of their poorer children in learning, or other public uſe, by the advice of ſaid magiſtrates, or of Mr. Eliot, or ſome other elder, who ſhall ordinarily inſtruct them in true religion. And it is the deſire of this Court, that theſe magiſtrates, or Mr. Eliot, or ſuch other elders, as ſhall attend the keeping of ſaid courts, will carefully endeavour to make the Indians underſtand our moſt uſeful laws, and the principles of reaſon, juſtice and equity, whereon they are grounded; and it is deſired that ſome care may be taken of the Indians on the Lord's-day."

There was a town laid out, impaled, or ſeparated by ſtone walls. They were alſo provided with domeſtic utenſils and inſtruments of agriculture, a decent appearance was introduced in their houſes, and ſome conſiderable order in their manner of living. Several were able to get a comfortable ſubſiſtence by making baſkets, brooms, ſtaves, &c. while others ſold the wild berries and different kinds of roots, and enjoyed ſome reward for a very little labour. There always was a difference in the tempers of Indians who went upon *hunting* parties, and thoſe who reſide near *ponds* and *rivers*, and ſell their fiſh, and cultivate the ground; if we may ſo call the raiſing corn or a few neceſſaries. The firſt never could be civilized. The latter, with all the aſſiſtance and encouragement from the whites, never could or never would labour like other men.

Mr. Neal tells us, that while theſe things were done at Noonatomen, the Indians about Concord expreſſed their deſires of being civilized and receiving the chriſtian faith; —that Mr. Eliot went there and preached to them;—that he addreſſed the Government for a ſpot of ground;—that the ſachems met at Concord, and agreed upon the following laws for their civil and religious government:

That there ſhall be no more *powawing* upon the penalty of twenty ſhillings.

That whoſoever ſhall be drunk, ſhall forfeit twenty ſhillings.

That if any be convicted of ſtealing, he ſhall reſtore four fold.

That whoſoever ſhall prophane the ſabbath, he ſhall pay twenty ſhillings.

That whoſoever ſhall commit fornication, ſhall pay twenty ſhillings, if a man, and ten ſhillings, if a woman.

Wilful murder, adultery, and beaſtiality, to be puniſhed with death.

None to beat their wives upon the penalty of twenty ſhillings.

They reſolved to lay aſide their howling, greaſing their bodies, adorning their hair; and follow the Engliſh faſhions.

They agreed to pray in their wigwams, and to ſay grace before and after meat.——Theſe and other orders they agreed upon, and they were publiſhed.

Other churches were alſo planted by this pious miſſionary in the wilderneſs of Maſſachuſetts. He left the fruit of his labours in many places. Whilſt ſome of the ſachems were diſpoſed to receive inſtruction, others diſcovered a reſentment at his conduct. They found that they loſt their influence and their tribute, and therefore oppoſed the converſion of their ſubjects. Mr. E. was the object of their hatred, and they would have killed him, but they had a terror of the Engliſh people, and they had a kind of reverence for the character of the man, which hindered them from carrying their deſigns into execution; or which, mingling with ſome of their ſuperſtitious notions, kept in awe the enemies of the Goſpel, whether they were *Powaws* or *Princes*.

This worthy miniſter of our divine religion went upon his evangelical miſſion every fortnight, though he frequently expoſed himſelf to perils from the heathen, and while he knew that ſome of the chiefs were plotting his deſtruction.

It cannot appear ſtrange to thoſe who have become acquainted with human nature from obſervation, that the aborigines of this country ſhould oppoſe the progreſs of Chriſtianity. Has it not been a complaint of pious men in other periods of the world;—and do we not learn the ſame thing from the late efforts which have been made in Europe to convert the inhabitants of Iſlands in the South Sea? We may borrow the expreſſion of one whoſe lips were wet with celeſtial dews, who ſaid, "Have any nation changed their gods who were no gods?"

The ſentiment contained in the words ſhow the amazing power of habit. It is difficult to civilize barbarians, but wonderful that they ſhould become Chriſtians.

All men have a veneration for the religion of their anceſtors, and the prejudices of education are inſuperable. Apply this to the labours of Mr. Eliot. A judicious hiſtorian thus ſpeaks of the oppoſition he met with :†

The Indian princes and prieſts looked upon him as a man who deſigned to overturn their civil and religious policy. The prince was jealous of his prerogative, and the prieſt of his gain ; and ſo both joined together to oppoſe the progreſs of the new doctrines. The *Monhegin* Indians were ſo jealous of the General Court's influence, obliging them to pray to God, that Uncas, their chief ſachem, went to Hartford unto the General Court to proteſt againſt it.

Cutſhemoquin, another chief, came to the Indian lecture and openly proteſted againſt their building a town ; telling the Engliſh that all the ſachems in the country were againſt it. He was ſo honeſt as to tell Mr. Eliot the reaſon of it ; for, ſaid he, the Indians that pray to God do not pay me tribute as they formerly did ; which was in part true : for before, the ſachem was abſolute maſter of the ſubject ; their lives and fortunes being at his diſpoſal. They now gave him no more than they thought reaſonable ; but to wipe off the reproach that Cutſhemoquin had laid upon them, thoſe few praying Indians told Mr. Eliot what they had done for their ſachem the two laſt years, leaving him to judge whether their prince had any reaſon to complain. At one time, they gave him twenty-ſix buſhels of corn, at another time, ſix. On two hunting days they killed him fifteen deer. They alſo broke up two acres of ground ; they made him a great houſe, or wigwam ; made twenty rods of fence ; paid a debt for him, three pounds, ten ſhillings. One of them gave him a ſkin of beaver, two pounds, beſides many days planting corn altogether : yea, they ſaid they would do more, if he would govern them juſtly by the word of God. But the ſachem ſwelled with indignation at this unmannerly diſcourſe of one of his vaſſals, turned his back upon the company, and went away in a rage; though, upon better conſideration, he himſelf turned chriſtian not long after.

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† Neal.

In 1651, an Indian town was built on a pleaſant ſpot on Charles-River, and called Natick. Here was a houſe raiſed, which ſerved for a ſchool and for public worſhip; and a place was alſo provided, for the prophet's chamber. In the corner of the room, Mr. Eliot had his bed, and frequently made it his lodging. As ſoon as they were well fixed in their habitation, he procured them certain privileges, and gave them a form of government, ſuch as we find in Exodus xviii. 21. On the 6th of Auguſt, *one hundred met, and choſe one ruler of one hundred, two of fifty, and ten of ten, and then renewed their covenant, ſaying*, "We are loſt in Adam, we and our fathers have been a long time loſt in our ſins, but now the mercy of God begins to find us out again: therefore the grace of God helping us, we do give ourſelves and our children to God; he ſhall rule us in all our affairs, not only in religion and the affairs of the church, but alſo in all our works and affairs in this world: God ſhall rule over us, the Lord is our Judge, our Lawgiver, the Lord is our King, he will ſave us. The wiſdom which God hath taught us in his book, that ſhall guide us and direct us in the way. O Jehovah! teach us wiſdom, to find out thy wiſdom in the ſcriptures; let the grace of Chriſt help us, becauſe Chriſt is the wiſdom of God; ſend thy ſpirit into our hearts and let it teach us; Lord take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God."

Theſe and many other things, Mr. Eliot wrote down, which they ſpake during his friendly and paſtoral viſits to them; which he afterwards collected and publiſhed in a volume, called *the Tears of the Indians*—or, *Repentance*, &c.

In this book there is the confeſſion of Powampum, made in public on a faſt-day.

The exhortation of Waban, an Indian, and of Niſhokou.——Theſe are preſerved in Mr. Eliot's *Letters to the Corporation in London*, as well as in *the Tears of Repentance*. Several of them are in Neal's Hiſtory of New-England.

Concerning theſe ſpecimens of ſacred friendſhip and zeal, this wiſe author ſays: "That they ſhow the high eſteem in which he was held by the new converts. That they conſulted him as their oracle in all difficult caſes; that they loved him as their lives, and would run any hazards to ſerve him. He really deſerved well of them, for no man ever took ſuch pains in the miſſionary work as himſelf; his name therefore will be mentioned with honour as long as there is a *Chriſtian* Indian in the world.

He himſelf tells us, "that he had not, knowingly or wilfully, made their confeſſions better than they made themſelves; but he is verily perſuaded, upon good grounds, that he has rather rendered them weaker than he delivered them, partly by miſſing ſome words of weight in ſome ſentences, partly by abbreviating ſome paſſages, and partly by reaſon of the different idioms of their language and ours."

It was not the deſign of the writer of theſe Memoirs, to exhibit the ſtate of the Indians, or deſcribe their converſions only as they were connected with the life of a man, who was ſo converſant with them. In a letter, which Dr. Increaſe Mather wrote to Profeſſor Leuſden, any reader will ſee the progreſs made in this buſineſs *during the 17th century.* But it becomes us to be more particular in deſcribing the church at Natick, the firſt *Indian church*, formed in 1660. They were incorporated according to the manner of the congregational churches in New-England. Mr. Eliot was commiſſioned by the church at Roxbury to adminiſter unto them *baptiſm*, and the Lord's-ſupper.

The other churches planted in Maſſachuſetts, of the aboriginal tribes, were branches of this firſt Indian church. They had frequently the benefit of his labours; but his paſtoral care was more immediately over the flock in the town of Natick. Theſe ſheep no longer wandered through the rough paths of the deſert; but enjoyed in a meaſure the bleſſings of civilized and cultivated ſociety; and were refreſhed with the ſtreams which iſſued from the Fountain of life.

Enjoying the *word*, and walking in the ordinances of the goſpel, they continued much longer in a body, and preſerved the form of a church, than other plantations in Maſſachuſetts, where Indians and Engliſh have reſided together.

When age and infirmities made his burden heavy, this active and zealous divine did not wholly relinquiſh the work, but had the aſſiſtance of catechumens, and alſo of miniſters who were connected with the neighbouring churches; whoſe opportunities, and ſenſe of duty prompted them to engage in this extenſive field of uſefulneſs. Some appeared to take delight in the buſineſs, and imitated the Man who went about doing good; but the labourers were few in compariſon with the harveſt.

Beſide preaching to the natives, Mr. Eliot inſtructed one of the untutored race to be a ſchoolmaſter among them. His name was Monequeſſin. He thus tried every way to make them uſeful to ſociety, and indulged a hope that ſome would be ambitious of a liberal education, and that the next generation would ſee good preachers to the natives, and Indian paſtors of churches. But ſorrow and diſappointment were expreſſed by the worthy miſſionary before his death; for he ſaw how much the Indians abuſed their privileges, and that too many preferred the darkneſs and vices of their former ſtate to the bleſſings of the goſpel. He had been made the humble inſtrument of calling them to knowledge and virtue; and he beheld the *dew-drops* of the morning after a long *night* of ignorance. But the Sun of Righteouſneſs, after riſing upon their hills, ſeemed to enter a cloud. "There is a cloud," ſaid he, "upon the goſpel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and proſper the work, and grant it may live when I am dead."*

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* The church in Natick continued an Indian church many years after the deceaſe of this evangeliſt. Not only the miniſters of the neighbouring church, but ſome from a diſtance, whoſe zeal and benevolence led them to viſit a ſpot which reſembled the garden of the Lord rather than the reſt of the wilderneſs, afforded them much aſſiſtance. Mr. Daniel Gookin preached to them a number of years about the end of the 17th century. They had alſo an Indian paſtor named Daniel. Mr. Gookin was the ſon of the famous Major-General Gookin, the companion of Mr. Eliot, and, like him, the Indians' friend when the reſentment of the country was high againſt the aboriginal nations, and there were unthinking

Mr. Welde having left America, Mr. Eliot was ſole teacher of the church at Roxbury, for ſome years. He had ſeveral colleagues afterwards, and having arrived at fourſcore years, he deſired to give up his ſalary, and to be freed from the labours of the office. The people requeſted him to preach and pray when he was able, and unanimouſly choſe Mr. Nehemiah Walter for their aſſiſtant miniſter, upon whom deſcended the ſpirit of the firſt planters. Here were united the wiſdom and prudence of grey hairs with the ſtrength and popular talents of a young preacher, who paid every tribute of reſpect to his venerable colleague, and from whom he experienced every tender affection. "The good old man, like Aaron, diſrobed himſelf with an unſpeakable ſatisfaction, when he beheld his garments put upon a ſon that was ſo dear to him."* He often pleaded that it would be wrong to the ſouls of his people

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thinking men who wiſhed to deſtroy the *praying* tribes with thoſe who were actually engaged in war. General Gookin left ſeveral ſons; the eldeſt was miniſter of Cambridge; the ſecond, Daniel, was ſettled at Sherburne, and preached to the Indians at Natick. Between the years 1700 and 1745, ſeveral miſſionaries were appointed, who reſided in the town with the *praying* Indians. During that year many went into the wars and were ſcattered; their number has leſſened ever ſince, and now hardly a pure Indian can be found in this plantation.

The miſſionary who was ſent to inſtruct the Indians at Natick, ſome years before the American revolution, is now alive. From this gentleman, who is a man of ſenſe, we ſhould expect conſiderable information concerning a religious ſociety ſo venerable for its age, if it had loſt all other claim for the reſpect and attention of the preſent generation. But from his letter to the Hiſtorical Society, [vid. 5th vol. of the Collections], very little knowledge could be obtained. He ſays, that he has no printed materials, nor manuſcripts but the church records, &c. Had theſe been well kept, they would give the deſired intelligence. It is very ſtrange that from theſe, and from the *records of the proprietors of the town*, we have no concluſive documents of the numbers of Indians, or their ſtate at any particular period. Though ſuch diligence was given by the *Subject of theſe Memoirs* to plant this church, and the magiſtrates of the country engaged earneſtly in the buſineſs, yet no complete account of the *baptiſms*, of the *converts*, of their paſt condition, can be found. "The number of church members is now reduced to two or three." Suffice it to ſay, that in ſuch a world as this, we may expect great changes; but notwithſtanding the revolutions in families, in towns, and the American nation, we view with aſtoniſhment this remarkable inattention, and inexcuſeable neglect.

* Mather.

people " for him to do any thing among them when they were ſo well ſupplied otherwiſe."

The expreſſions flowed from his humility and charity, for he always ſpake acceptable words when he aſcended the pulpit. His age was, however, a ſufficient excuſe for retiring from miniſterial duties. Whoever preaches conſtantly and abundantly, ſuch a number of years, when the very ſtrength is labour and ſorrow, ought to reſt from his labours, and be held in honour by thoſe who are on the ſtage of action.

The laſt ſermon he preached was on public faſt; his ſubject, the 83d Pſalm. He then told his hearers, that his ſtrength failed, that his ſermons were broken performances, and added, *my dear brother will mend all.*

From his contemporaries, and from his writings, we learn, that he always preached in a plain manner, but had a happy facility of communicating his ideas upon ſubjects adapted for his people. He was warm and diffuſive, tender and pathetic, rather copious than correct in his language; but though his ſtyle was not varied with much art, his public performances were acceptable in all the churches. His method was natural, his expreſſion eaſy, his voice audible, and his manner very intereſting. Out of the abundance of his heart his mouth ſpake, in preaching and praying; and no paſtor of New-England ſaw more of the fruit of his labours. His diſcourſes are without thoſe quibbles, gingling words, and quaint turns, which mark the falſe taſte of the age; but were as common in Engliſh as in American ſermons. This ſtrain of preaching was introduced here by ſcholars educated in European ſeminaries, and too ſucceſsfully imitated by the ſons of our college. The author of the Magnalia abounds even with puerile conceits, and on this account has not received that tribute of reſpect from literary men of this generation, which he deſerves, for preſerving many facts, or ſuch minute circumſtances of events, as are entertaining to read, without his peculiarities of ſtyle; and are of infinite ſervice to all who would know the affairs of their own country. To this author, who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Eliot, we are indebted for an extract of a ſermon upon the heavenly converſation, which exhibits the preacher in his common attitude; for the words were taken as they dropped from his mouth, without his ſuppoſing that they would ever appear in print. We certainly can form a more correct opinion of the preacher's talents than from the deſcription in his biography, where he tells us, that "lambs might wade into his diſcourſes, on thoſe texts and themes wherein elephants might ſwim."

In the ſermon on Phillippians iii. 20, Mr. Eliot thus explains his text: "Behold the ancient and excellent character of the true chriſtian; it is that which Peter calls *holineſs in all manner of converſation.* For, in the firſt place, a ſeventh part of time is always ſpent in heaven, when people are zealous in the ſervice of God. Beſides, God has written at the head of the commandments, *Remember*, which looks forward and backward; and thus a good part of the week will be employed in ſabbatiſing.—Secondly, We have many days both for our faſting and thankſgiving, in our pilgrimage, and here are ſo many ſabbaths more.—Thirdly, We have our lectures once a week, and pious people will not miſs them if they can help it.—Fourthly, We have our pious meetings, in which we pray, and ſing, and repeat ſermons, and confer together about the things of God, and being come thus far we are in heaven almoſt every day.—Fifthly, We perform family duties every day. We have our morning and evening ſacrifices, wherein, having read the ſcriptures in our families, we call upon the name of God, and now and then catechiſe them that are under our care.—Sixthly, We ſhall alſo have our daily devotions in the cloſet, with ſome ſerious meditations. A *David* will be at this work no leſs than three times a day.—Seventhly, We have many ejaculations, &c. like Nehemiah, in whatever place we come into.—Eighthly, We have occaſional thoughts, &c.—Ninthly, In our *civil* callings we keep up heavenly frames; we buy, and ſell, and toil, yea, we eat and drink, with ſome eye both to the command and honour of God in all. Behold, I have not left now an inch of time to be carnal, it is all engroſſed for heaven; and yet, once more, leſt this ſhould not be enough, we have our *ſpiritual warfare.* We are always encountering the enemy of our ſouls, which continually raiſes our hearts unto our *Helper* and

Leader in the heavens. Let no man ſay, It is impoſſible *to live at this rate.* For we have known ſome to live ſo, and others, that have written of ſuch a life, have but ſpun out a web from their own experiences. New-England has examples of this life; though, alas! it is to be lamented that the diſtractions of the world, in many profeſſors, do becloud the beauty of a *heavenly converſation.* In fine, our employment lies in heaven. In the morning, if we aſk, Where are we to be to-day? the anſwer is, *In heaven.* In the evening, if we aſk, Where have we been to-day? our ſouls muſt anſwer, *In heaven.* If thou art a believer, thou art no ſtranger to heaven while thou liveſt: and when thou dieſt, heaven will be no ſtrange place to thee; no—thou haſt been there a thouſand times before."

As to his moral and chriſtian character, it was as exemplary as his miniſterial qualifications were excellent. His mind was governed by a ſenſe of duty, and not a mere eaſe and complacency of humour, which make a man good-natured when he is pleaſed, and patient when he has nothing to vex him. He brought his religion into all his actions. A ſtranger to artifice and deceit, he diſliked the appearance of them in others. He felt equal obligations to perform the duties of piety, virtue, and benevolence. Such was the man. He cloathed himſelf with humility as with a *robe.* Literally ſpeaking, he wore a leathern girdle about his loins. Perhaps this might ſhow too ſtrong prejudices againſt dreſs; but all his actions diſcovered a temper free from vanity, and a deſire to *be* humble, rather than to gain the praiſe of men. He was very temperate: one diſh was his homely repaſt. When he dined abroad, he would not indulge himſelf in the luxuries of the table. He drank water, and ſaid of wine, "it is a noble, generous liquor, and we ſhould be humbly thankful for it, but, as I remember, water was made before it." His maintenance was a free contribution, or raiſed upon pews, and the people of Roxbury cheerfully ſupported two miniſters. It was his requeſt, to give up his ſalary when he could no longer preach. "I do here," ſaid he, "give up my ſalary to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and now, brethren, you may fix that upon any man that God ſhall make a paſtor." But the ſociety, in their anſwer, told him, that they accounted his preſence worth any ſum granted for his ſupport, even if he were ſuperannuated ſo as to do no further ſervice for them. The youth of the congregation called him their father and their *friend*, and their affection chaſed away the gloom ſo apt to hover around the evening of life. Such attentions from the riſing generation, are like medicine to the ſpirit of a man ſinking within him. The reflection of a life well ſpent, and the kindneſs of his friends, made his old age pleaſant.

In domeſtic life, Mr. Eliot was peculiarly happy. His lady was an excellent economiſt, and by her prudent management enabled him to be generous to his friends, and hoſpitable to ſtrangers. It ought to be mentioned to the credit of this excellent woman, that with a moderate ſtipend and her prudence, he educated four ſons at Cambridge, who were among the beſt preachers of that generation. A ſmall ſalary, where a proper arrangement is made of the expenſes, and the wife *looks well to the ways of her houſehold*, may anſwer generous as well as neceſſary purpoſes: But when frugality is deſpiſed, and prudence called a niggardly virtue; when the fragments which might be gathered are loſt, it is not the income of the moſt lucrative ſtations, much leſs the ſalaries of paſtors of churches, that will maintain people in eaſe and independence.

By the influence of Mr. Boyle, his honorable friend, Mr. Eliot was allowed fifty pounds, annually, from the Society *de propagand fide*. This enabled him to gratify his benevolent propenſities; the poor Indians, to whom the Goſpel was preached, ſhared the moſt of the donation. His charity is thus celebrated by one of his biographers:—"It was a brilliant ſtar in the conſtellation of his virtues, and the rays of it were various and extenſive. He gave largely from his own income to the poor, and promoted all kinds of uſeful diſtributions, eſpecially if he could ſerve the cauſe of religion. When his age unfitted him for public employment, he reflected that he did good as he had opportunity. "Alas!" ſaid he, "I have loſt every thing—My underſtanding leaves me, my memory fails me, but I thank God my charity holds out ſtill."

It becomes neceſſary to mark the minute circumſtances of a perſon's character, if we would obtain juſt views of his temper and actions. Hence biography differs from hiſtory, whoſe province is to deſcribe great events which elevate the mind of the reader; and which require a dignity of manner with the glow of ſentiment. But in the narrative of private life, we ſurvey the man in all his various attitudes, frequently without a deſign to *point* a moral: We follow him through the vales and deſcents of his ſituation, and feel intereſted in every thing which concerns him, till, by dwelling upon *kindred* images, he grows into a familiar acquaintance.

Moſt men have their oddities and ſtrange humours. Among the prejudices of Mr. Eliot was one very ſtrong againſt *wearing wigs*. He preached againſt it; he prayed againſt it; he thought all the calamities of the country, even Indian wars, might be traced to this abſurd faſhion. Many things have been told by the people of Roxbury, which were handed down to them by their anceſtors, that ſeem only like amuſing ſtories, of the good man's reſentment. And in the written account by Cotton Mather, it is ſaid that he thought it a "luxurious, feminine protexity for men to wear their hair long." Eſpecially, a ſhame for miniſters of the goſpel to "ruffle their heads in exceſſes of this kind." The Doctor touches lightly upon this ſubject, *for he himſelf wore a wig;* and he makes a judicious obſervation—"Doubtleſs," ſaid he, "it may be lawful in us to accommodate our hair to the modeſt cuſtoms which vary in the church of God; and it may be lawful for them who have not hair of their own, enough for their health, to ſupply themſelves according to the ſober modes of the places where they live. Mr. Eliot lived to ſee the prevalence of the faſhion, to ſee many an orthodox miniſter wear a great white wig, and it is reported that he gave over the utterance of his grieved ſpirit, ſaying only as a *laſt word* of complaint that the "luſt was inſuperable."

His prejudices were as ſtrong againſt the uſe of tobacco. He thought it was a ſacrifice of precious time—a ſilly amuſement, diſguſting in itſelf; that Chriſtians ought not to become ſlaves to ſuch a pernicious weed, and beſotted by its influence. But he might as well have preached to the moon, as to reſiſt the tide of faſhion; or fought with the ſtars in their courſes, as to ſtruggle with the pride of opinion, or the appetites of ſenſe; and try to perſuade men not to uſe a weed which carries a charm with it for its intoxicating quality;—which equally tends to exhilarate their ſpirits and amuſe their leiſure hours.

The uſe of ardent ſpirits was then hardly known. Hugh Peters, a friend of his, and contemporary writer, ſays: He never ſaw a man, woman, or child, drunk in the ſtreets of Boſton—nor recollects hearing an *oath.* Stern virtue had a dominion or authority which ſhe has loſt ſince, and it may be long before we recur to the practices or principles of the New-England planters.

Our Roxbury divine has been accuſed by ſome of verſatility in his opinions and conduct: By others, of being too ſet and rigid in his notions. If there is an inconſiſtency in this, it is what we ſee every day. Perſons think themſelves right and are warm in defending a ſentiment—The ſame ſenſibility of mind may be manifeſted after they have altered their way of thinking. Hutchinſon quotes a letter of Hooker, where he ſays: "A copy of Mr. Vane's expreſſions at Roxbury, I deſire to ſee and receive by the next meſſenger. I have heard that my brother Eliot is come about to this opinion; I have writ to him—I would fain come to a bandy with him, where I might be a little rude in the buſineſs, for I do as verily believe it to be falſe, as I do believe any article of my faith to be true." From his behaviour at the trial of Mrs. Hutchinſon, we rather think Mr. Hooker was miſinformed. He never was a partizan of Vane, but always adhered to Governor *Winthrop.*

His ſetneſs of opinion was alſo manifeſted in controverting with the great Dr. Owen the proper obſervation of the ſabbath, but he thought the Doctor's name and character might carry more weight than his arguments had intrinſic excellency.

His political opinions more than once brought him into trouble. He ſpake with freedom againſt the Indian treaty, and was obliged to recant before the magiſtrates. Roger Williams and he were of the ſame opinion, but the one was convinced, and confeſſed *his error; the other was not ſo eaſily moved or convinced.**

This was in the year 1636. Afterwards he diſcovered more of a democratic ſpirit, by writing againſt monarchy, when it was not ſafe for puritan divines to ſpeak of the ruling power, and the republicans in the mother country had their tongues locked in ſilence. Hutchinſon tells us, in the firſt book of his hiſtory, that the Governor and Council, in the year 1660, took notice of a book publiſhed by Mr. Eliot not long before, intitled, the *Chriſtian Commonwealth*, full of ſeditious principles and notions, in relation to all eſtabliſhed governments in the chriſtian world, eſpecially againſt the government eſtabliſhed in their native country. Upon conſultation with the elders, their cenſure was deferred until the next General Court, that Mr. Eliot might have an opportunity, in the mean time, of making a public recantation. At the next ſeſſion, Mr. Eliot gave in his acknowledgment to the Court:

"Underſtanding, by an act of the honoured Council, that there is offence taken at a book publiſhed in England by others, the copy whereof was ſent over by myſelf about ten years ſince, and that the further conſideration thereof is commended to this Honourable General Court, now ſitting in Boſton. Upon peruſal thereof, I do judge myſelf to have offended; and, in a way of ſatisfaction, not only to the authority of this juriſdiction, but alſo to any others that ſhall take notice thereof, I do hereby acknowledge to this General Court, that ſuch expreſſions as do manifeſtly ſcandalize the government of England by king, lords, and commons, as antichriſtian, and juſtify the late innovator, I do ſincerely bear teſtimony againſt, and acknowledge it to be true, not only a lawful, but eminent, form of government.

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* Bentley's Hiſt. of Salem.

Governor Winthrop ſays: Mr. Eliot, the teacher of the church at Roxbury, had taken occaſion in a ſermon to ſpeak againſt the peace made with the Pequods, and to lay ſome blame upon our meaſures for proceeding therein without conſent of the people, &c. We took order that he ſhould be proceeded with by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Welde, to be brought to ſee his error, and to heal it by ſome explanation of his meaning; for the people begun to take occaſion to murmur againſt us for it.

The aforeſaid three miniſters, upon conference with the ſaid Mr. Eliot, brought him to acknowledge his error, in that he had miſtaken the ground of his doctrine, and that he did acknowledge that for a peace only (whereby the people were not to be engaged in a war) the magiſtrates might conclude, plebe inconſulto; and ſo promiſed that he would expreſs himſelf the next Lord's-day. *Winthrop's Journal, page* 86.

"2. All form of civil government deduced from ſcripture, I acknowledge to be of God, and to be ſubjected to, for conſcience ſake; and whatſoever is in the whole epiſtle or book inconſiſtent herewith, I do at once moſt cordially diſown. JOHN ELIOT."

The books were ordered by the Court to be called in, and this acknowledgment to be poſted up in the principal towns of the Colony.

During the war with the ſachem Philip, 1675, our Roxbury divine appears in a character very intereſting to the community. The traces of war are blood and ſlaughter. The people of Maſſachuſetts, in their phrenzy, would have deſtroyed the *praying* Indians with the ſavages whoſe feet were ſwift to ſpread deſtruction in every path. Mr. Eliot was their advocate and friend. They were put under a kind of dureſs, which was injurious to them if they were innocent, but which was more aggravating becauſe they took a decided part againſt their own nation; *this* they bore with patience, or a very faint expreſſion of complacency. Mr. Eliot not only was perſuaded that they were friendly, but that they were of great ſervice to the Engliſh, with whom they would live or die, rather than mingle with *heathens*. Being aſſiſted by General Gookin, he defended their cauſe, and protected them againſt thoſe men of violence who were leſs in the *image of God* than thoſe poor *outcaſts* of human ſociety;—*men*, who loſt their reputation, as Chriſtians, becauſe they gave way to the fury of their paſſions. Every thing was ſaid againſt the miniſter and magiſtrate which could be uttered by the foul mouth of the vulgar, or from the lips of ſome whoſe education was liberal; and whoſe religion ought to have made more candid, but who ſtimulated the bitter ſarcaſms of the multitude. Nothing could ſhake the reſolution of ſuch men, conſcious of rectitude, and we never behold the *Subject of theſe Memoirs* to more advantage than he appears when he pleads the cauſe of theſe poor, friendleſs beings.* It is no wonder, therefore, that having ſhown his abilities and firmneſs, he acquired ſuch an influence over the various tribes as no other miſſionary to the Indians could ever obtain. We can overlook a multitude of errors, where ſuch divine charity throws the pureſt luſtre upon the character. We can excuſe ſuch prejudices, which by themſelves ſeem like *effuſions of human weakneſs*, when, in the ſame life, we ſee the *charms of virtue*; nor let us blame even an obſtinacy of humour, if mingled with a firmneſs that gives dignity to human nature. Having mentioned certain oddities in his diſpoſition, or a few ſingularities, or puerile antipathies againſt new cuſtoms, which in the preſent day would cauſe a ſmile of ridicule, let theſe be balanced by the honeſty and frankneſs of his manners. He was as tenacious of truth and juſtice as of his own opinion. He muſt alſo have poſſeſſed ſome of thoſe rare qualities which conciliate popularity, an uncommon affability to gain an influence in ſociety which could never be acquired by miniſterial gifts and graces, although theſe might make him an ornament to the pulpit.

There is a ſtory which perhaps ſhould not be omitted. It is related by *one* fond of the marvellous—(Cotton Mather.) Mr. Eliot was in a boat, that was overſet by a veſſel running againſt it. A prophane wretch, one who clamoured for the extirpation of the *praying Indians*, ſaid, he wiſhed the man of God had been drowned. In a few days this man was drowned in the very place where Mr. Eliot had received his deliverance.

After living eighty-ſix years in this world of trial, the *ſpirit* of this excellent divine took his flight to a better world. For many years he *had his converſation in heaven*; his faith ſeemed to be ſwallowed up in viſion, and his hopes in fruition. He loſt his moſt amiable companion two years before. He was then ſick and expected and longed for his own departure. Their children they had followed to the *grave*, and had comforted each other as they drank the bitter ingredients from the cup of adverſity. He died in the year 1690.

Few of his family were alive to lament his death; but he was lamented by the whole family of virtue, and by all the ſincere friends of religion. The poor *church at Natick* not only joined with thoſe who dropped a tear upon his duſt, but ſtreams of ſorrow flowed from the heart. Though he lived many years, they were filled with uſefulneſs; ſucceeding generations mentioned his name with uncommon reſpect; his labours were applauded in Europe and America; and all who now contemplate his active ſervices, his benevolent zeal, his prudence, his upright conduct, his charity, are ready to declare his memory precious. Such a man will be handed down to future times, an object of admiration and love; and appear conſpicuous in the hiſtoric page when diſtant ages celebrate the *Worthies of New-England.*

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* Vid. 7th vol. Letter from the poor church of Natick.

Publications by John Eliot, teacher of the Firſt Church in Roxbury.

Whether he preached any Sermons upon particular occaſions, ſuch as Election and Artillery Election, we cannot aſcertain. It is probable that he did. The miniſters were few. Some preached ſeveral times, who were leſs celebrated. The latter part of *the ſixteenth century* he was aged and continually employed in his *miſſionary buſineſs.*

He publiſhed a number of ſmall Tracts.

The *True Commonwealth.*

Tears of Repentance, &c. and

A work, in ſmall quarto, called the *Harmony of the Goſpels*, printed 1678. This is recommended by four of the principal characters of the New-England plantation.

"We have peruſed it," ſay they, "and obſerved the prudence and diligence of the gracious and worthy author in compiling it. In the reading of it, we have been edified and affected. We are perſuaded that through the bleſſing of Him that hath put it into the head of the reverend author to lay out himſelf this way, it will ſerve to promote the honour of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt and the good of ſouls, and therefore do affix our *imprimaturs.*

Thomas Thacher, Urian Oakes.
James Allen. Increaſe Mather."

For the benefit of the Indians, he publiſhed ſeveral Catechiſms ;

An *Indian Grammar ;*

An *Indian Pſalter ;* and

The *whole Bible*, in the ſame language. A ſecond edition of this, was afterwards publiſhed by Mr. Cotton, of Plymouth, with the *Grammar.*

In the files of the Hiſtorical Society there is a leaf of the Indian Bible, which belonged to his colleague, the Rev. *Samuel Danforth*, in which there are ſeveral corrections from the hand of this worthy gentleman. He was ſettled at Roxbury, about the year 1662, and died 1674, aged 48. He was the brother of the Deputy-Governor of the ſame name.

The Lord's Prayer. Mat. 6. ix. &c.

Our Father which art in heaven	Nooſhun keeſukqut
Hallowed be thy name	Quttianata munach koowesuonh*
Thy kingdom come	Perganmoonch kukketaſſootamoonch
Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven	Kuttenantamoonck nennatch okkeils neene keſukqut
Luke 11. ii. Thy will, &c. as in heaven ſo on earth	Kuttanantamóonk ne nai, neyane keeſukquot kah okkeit
Give us this day our daily bread	Nummeetſwongeſh eſekeeſukokiſh aſſimainean yeyen keſuſok
Luke 11. ii. Give us day by day our daily bread	Aſſimainean ko ko ke ſukodac nutaſe ſukoke petuk qunneg
And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors	Kah ahquoantameünnean nummatchongagh neene matchenchukqueogig nutch quonte móonnunog
Luke 11. ii. Forgive as we forgive every one that is indebted to us	Newutche nenewun menk nutch quoanta móonnugog nighnoh paſuh moonmontukquohwhoan

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* *Qullianatamunch.*

And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil	Akque ſagkompaginaiican en qutch huaſuganit, webe pohquohwuſſinnean wutchmelchitut
For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, &c.	Newutche kutahtaun keteſſootamoonk kah menuhkeſùonk, kah ſohſumoònk michemè. Amen.

Errata. Acts xxiv. 16. 1 Cor. xv. 31. As here tranſlated, countenances ſwearing by a creature, or gift of God.

Mem. Part of Hoſea wanting—or tranſpoſed.

Corrigenda. Gen. xliii. 28. *He is in good health,* omitted wholly.

Longeſt word. Mark i. 40. Wuttappeſittukquſſunnoohwehtunkquoh.

Quere. Whether thorns and briars grew on Adam's body?

Whether the corrections were made in the ſucceeding edition, the tranſcriber of theſe notes is unable to ſay.

Not being verſed in the original language of old Maſſachuſetts, he muſt make an apology to thoſe *genuine antiquarians* of their country, who *are* acquainted with it, for any miſtakes that may be in *Indian words ;* ſuch eſpecially as uſing the *h* for *k*.

ADDENDA.

From hearing a report that prevailed in Roxbury, where the *Writer of the Memoirs* once reſided, that the tomb in which *Mr. Eliot* was laid, and alſo *Anne his wife*, by particular permiſſion, was claimed by the family on this account, (though it was purchaſed only for a miniſterial tomb) he was induced to ſearch for information on this head, and received the following anſwer to his query from Thomas Clark, Eſq. who for many years was Town-Clerk of Roxbury, and their Repreſentative in the General Court.

Boſton, 3d November, 1802.

SIR,

WITH ſingular pleaſure I comply with your requeſt, to relate what I have met with among the records and manuſcripts in the town of Roxbury, relative to the interment of the remains of the Rev. John Eliot, generally called "the Apoſtle."

It does not appear that any record was made at the time, relative to the building of the tomb in which his remains were depoſited; nor is it probable that any account of it would have been preſerved but for the peculiar circumſtances attending it. Many years ſubſequent to the deceaſe of Mr. Eliot, (about fifty, perhaps,) Major John Bowles, a reſpectable character in the town of Roxbury, claimed the tomb as the property of the Eliot family, of which, I think, his lady was one. This led to an inveſtigation, and a reference; and, no record being found, the affidavits of a number of very aged people were taken, and recorded to perpetuate the remembrance of them, all of which agreed in the following facts, viz. That ſeveral years before the death of Mr. Eliot, an inhabitant of Roxbury was taken by the Turks, and kept in bondage: when his friends heard of his deplorable ſituation, they were greatly affected, and raiſed, by voluntary contribution, a ſum of money (the amount is not mentioned) and ſent it by a friend for his ranſom; but before the money arrived the perſon for whoſe relief it was deſigned was dead; in conſequence of which the money was brought back, and the owners being unwilling it ſhould be applied to any common purpoſe, appropriated it to the building a tomb for the burial of their deceaſed miniſters; and I think one or more of the deponents affirmed, that before the tomb was finiſhed the good old gentleman died.

1169670

Your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

THOMAS CLARK.

The prejudice againſt the uſe of tobacco, was not confined to the character of individuals. It was the prevailing ſentiment of the people that it had a bad tendency, and may ſerve for an excuſe for Mr. Eliot, who ſo often admoniſhed perſons who made too free with it. Governor Winthrop ſays:—

"At this Court (1634) were many laws made againſt tobacco, and immodeſt faſhions and coſtly apparel, &c. as appears from the *Records*."

GOVERNOR DUDLEY'S LETTER TO THE COUNTESS OF LINCOLN.

To the Right Honourable, my very good Lady, the Lady Bridget, Counteſs of Lincoln.

Madam,

YOUR letters (which are not common nor cheap) following me hither into *New England*, and bringing with them renewed teſtimonies of the accuſtomed favours you honoured me with in the *Old*, have drawn from me this narrative retribution, which (in reſpect of your proper intereſt in ſome perſons of great note amongſt us) was the thankfulleſt preſent I had to ſend over the ſeas. Therefore I humbly intreat your Honour this be accepted as payment from him, who neither hath, nor is any more, than

Your Honours
Old
Thankful Servant,
THOMAS DUDLEY.

Boſton in *New-England*,
March 12*th*, 1630.

FOR the ſatisfaction of your Honour, and ſome friends, and for the uſe of ſuch as ſhall hereafter intend to increaſe our plantation in *New-England*, I have in the throng of domeſtick, and not altogether free from publick buſineſs, thought fit to commit to memory our preſent condition, and what hath befallen us ſince our arrival here; which I will do ſhortly, after my uſual manner, and muſt do rudely, having yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fire-ſide upon my knee, in this ſharp winter; to which my family muſt have leave to reſort, though they break good manners, and make me many times forget what I would ſay, and ſay what I would not.

Concerning the *Engliſh* that are planted here: I find that about the year 1620. certain *Engliſh* ſet out from *Leyden* in *Holland*, intending their courſe for *Hudſon*'s river. Theſe being much weather beaten, and wearied with ſeeking the river, after a moſt tedious voyage, arrived at length in a ſmall bay, lying north-eaſt from *Cape Cod ;* where landing about the month of *December*, by the favour of a calm winter, ſuch as was never ſeen here ſince, begun to build their dwellings in that place, which now is called *New-Plimouth :* Where after much ſickneſs, famine, poverty, and great mortality, (through all which, God by an unwonted Providence carried them) they are now grown up to a people, healthful, wealthy, politick and religious ; ſuch things doth the Lord for thoſe that wait for his mercies. They of *Plimouth* came with patents from King *James*, and have ſince obtained others, from our ſoveraign, King *Charles*, having a Governour and Council of their own : There was about the ſame time, one Mr. *Weſton*, an *Engliſh* merchant, who ſent divers men to plant and trade ; who ſate down by the river of *Weſaguſcus*, but theſe coming not for ſo good ends as thoſe of *Plymouth*, ſped not ſo well ; for the moſt of them dying and languiſhing away, they who ſurvived were reſcued by thoſe of *Plymouth*, out of the hands of *Chickatalbott*, and his *Indians*, who oppreſſed thoſe weak *Engliſh*, and intended to have deſtroyed them : And the *Plymotheans* alſo, as is ſet down in a tract, written by Mr. *Winſlow* of *Plymouth :* Alſo ſince, one Captain *Wollaſton* with ſome thirty with him, came near to the ſame place, and built on an hill, which he named Mount *Wollaſton ;* but being not ſupplied with renewed proviſions, they vaniſhed away as the former did. Alſo divers merchants of *Briſtol*, and other places, have yearly for theſe eight years, or thereabouts, ſent ſhips hither at the fiſhing times, to trade for bever, where their factors diſhoneſtly for their gains, have furniſhed the *Indians* with guns, ſwords, powder and ſhot.

Touching the plantation which we here have begun : it fell out thus. About the year 1627. ſome friends being together in *Lincolnſhire*, fell into diſcourſe about *New England*, and the planting of the goſpel there ; and after ſome deliberation, we imparted our reaſons, by letters and meſſages to ſome in *London* and the *Weſt Country ;* where it was likewiſe deliberately thought upon, and at length with often negotiation ſo ripened, that in the year 1628. we procured a patent from His Majeſty for our planting between the *Maſſachuſetts* bay and *Charles* river on the ſouth, and the river of *Merrimack* on the north, and three miles on either ſide of thoſe rivers and bay; as alſo for the government of thoſe who did or ſhould inhabit within that compaſs: And the ſame year we ſent Mr. *John Endicott*, and ſome with him, to begin a plantation; and to ſtrengthen ſuch as he ſhould find there, which we ſent thither from *Dorcheſter*, and ſome places adjoyning: from whom the ſame year receiving hopeful news: The next year, 1629. we ſent divers ſhips over, with about three hundred people, and ſome cowes, goats and horſes, many of which arrived ſafely. Theſe by their too large commendations of the country, and the commodities thereof, invited us ſo ſtrongly to go on, that Mr. *Winthrop* of *Suffolk*, (who was well known in his own country, and well approved here, for his piety, liberality, wiſdom and gravity) coming in to us, we came to ſuch reſolution, that in *April*, 1630. we ſet ſail from Old *England* with four good ſhips. And in *May* following, eight more followed; two having gone before in *February* and *March*, and two more following in *June* and *Auguſt*, beſides another ſet out by a private merchant. Theſe ſeventeen ſhips arrived all ſafe in *New England*, for the increaſe of the plantation here this year 1630. but made a long, a troubleſome and coſtly voyage, being all wind bound long in *England*, and hindred with contrary winds, after they ſet ſail, and ſo ſcattered with miſts and tempeſts, that few of them arrived together. Our four ſhips which ſet out in *April*, arrived here in *June* and *July*, where we found the colony in a ſad and unexpected condition, above eighty of them being dead the winter before; and many of thoſe alive, weak and ſick; all the corn and bread amongſt them all, hardly ſufficient to feed them a fortnight: inſomuch that the remainder of an hundred and eighty ſervants we had the two years before ſent over, coming to us for victuals to ſuſtain them, we found ourſelves wholly unable to feed them, by reaſon that the proviſions ſhipped for them, were taken out of the ſhip they were put in; and they who were truſted to ſhip them in another, failed us, and left them behind; whereupon neceſſity enforced us to our extream loſs, to give them all liberty; who had coſt us about ſixteen or twenty pound a perſon, furniſhing and ſending over. But bearing theſe things as we might, we began to conſult of the place of our ſitting down: For *Salem* where we landed, pleaſed us not. And to that purpoſe, ſome were ſent to the Bay, to ſearch up the rivers for a convenient place; who upon their return, reported to have found a good place upon *Miſtick;* but ſome other of us, ſeconding theſe, to approve or diſlike of their judgment; we found a place liked us better, three leagues up *Charles* river: And thereupon unſhipped our goods into other veſſels, and with much coſt and labour, brought them in *July* to *Charlſtown;* but there receiving advertiſements (by ſome of the late arrived ſhips) from *London* and *Amſterdam* of ſome *French* preparations againſt us (many of our people brought with us being ſick of fevers, and the ſcurvy, and we thereby unable to carry up our ordnance and baggage ſo far) we were forced to change counſel, and for our preſent ſhelter to plant diſperſedly, ſome at *Charlſtown*, which ſtandeth on the north-ſide of the mouth of *Charles* river; ſome on the ſouth-ſide thereof, which place we named *Boſton* (as we intended to have done the place we firſt reſolved on); ſome of us upon *Miſtick*, which we named *Meadford;* ſome of us weſtward on *Charles* river, four miles from *Charlſtown*, which place we named *Watertown;* others of us two miles from *Boſton*, in a place we named *Roxbury;* others upon the river of *Sawgus*, between *Salem* and *Charlſtown:* And the Weſtern men, four miles ſouth from *Boſton*, at a place we named *Dorcheſter*. This diſperſion troubled ſome of us, but help it we could not, wanting ability to remove to any place fit to build a town upon; and the time too ſhort to deliberate any longer, leaſt the winter ſhould ſurprize us before we had builded our houſes. The beſt counſel we could find out was to build a fort to retire to, in ſome convenient place, if any enemy preſſed us thereunto, after we ſhould have fortifyed our ſelves againſt the injuries of wet and cold. So ceaſing to conſult further for that time, they who had health to labour, fell to building, wherein many were interrupted with ſickneſs, and many dyed weekly, yea, almoſt daily. Amongſt whom were Mrs. *Pinchon*, Mrs. *Coddington*, Mrs. *Phillips*, and Mrs. *Alcock*, a ſiſter of Mr. *Hookers*. Inſomuch that the ſhips being now upon their return, ſome for *England*, ſome for *Ireland* ; there was as I take it not much leſs than an hundred (ſome think many more) partly out of diſlike of our government, which reſtrained and puniſhed their exceſſes ; and partly through fear of famine, not ſeeing other means than by their labour to feed themſelves) which returned back again ; and glad were we ſo to be rid of them. Others alſo afterwards hearing of men of their own diſpoſition, which were planted at *Paſcataway*, went from us to them ; whereby though our numbers were leſſened, yet we accounted our ſelves nothing weakned by their removal : Before the departure of the ſhips, we contracted with Mr. *Peirce*, maſter of the *Lyon* of *Briſtol*, to return to us with all ſpeed, with freſh ſupplies of victuals, and gave him directions accordingly ; with this ſhip returned Mr. *Revil*, one of the five undertakers here, for the joynt ſtock of the company ; and Mr. *Vaſſal*, one of the aſſiſtants, and his family ; and alſo Mr. *Bright*, a miniſter ſent hither the year before : The ſhip being gone, victuals waſting, and mortality increaſing, we held divers faſts in our ſeveral congregations, but the Lord would not yet be deprecated ; for about the beginning of *September*, dyed Mr. *Gager*, a right godly man, a ſkilful chyrurgeon, and one of the deacons of our congregation. And Mr. *Higginſon*, one of the miniſters of *Salem*, a zealous and a profitable preacher ; this of a conſumption, that of a fever ; And on the 30*th* of *September*, dyed Mr. *Johnſon*, another of the five undertakers, (the Lady *ARBELLA* his wife being dead a month before.) This gentleman was a prime man amongſt us, having the beſt eſtate of any ; zealous for religion, and the greateſt furtherer of this plantation ; he made a moſt godly end, dying willingly, profeſſing his life better ſpent in promoting this plantation, than it could have been any other way. He left to us a loſs greater then the moſt conceived. Within a month after, dyed Mr. *Roſſiter*, another of our aſſiſtants, a godly man, and of a good eſtate, which ſtill weakned us more : So that now there were left of the five undertakers, but the Governour, Sir *Richard Saltonſtall*, and myſelf, and ſeven other of the Aſſiſtants. And of the people who came over with us, from the time of their ſetting ſail from *England*, in *April* 1630. until *December* following, there dyed by eſtimation about two hundred at the leaſt; ſo low hath the Lord brought us! Well, yet they who ſurvived were not diſcouraged; but bearing Gods corrections with humility, and truſting in his mercies; and conſidering how after a lower ebb he had raiſed up our neighbours at *Plymouth*, we began again in *December* to conſult about a fit place to build a town upon; leaving all thoughts of a fort, becauſe upon any invaſion, we were neceſſarily to loſe our houſes, when we ſhould retire thereinto: So after divers meetings at *Boſton*, *Roxbury* and *Watertown*, on the twenty eighth of *December*, we grew to this reſolution, to bind all the Aſſiſtants (Mr. *Endicott*, and Mr. *Sharp* excepted, which laſt purpoſeth to return by the next ſhip into *England*) to build houſes, at a place a mile eaſt from *Watertown*, near *Charles* river, the next ſpring, and to winter there the next year; that ſo by our examples, and by removing the ordnance and munition thither, all who were able might be drawn thither, and ſuch as ſhall come to us hereafter to their advantage, be compelled ſo to do; and ſo if God would, a fortifyed town might there grow up, the place fitting reaſonably well thereto. I ſhould before have mentioned how both the *Engliſh* and *Indian* corn being at ten ſhillings a ſtrike, and bever being valued at ſix ſhillings a pound; we made laws to reſtrain the ſelling of corn to the *Indians*, and to leave the price of bever at liberty, which was preſently ſold for ten, and twenty ſhillings a pound. I ſhould alſo have remembred, how the half of our cowes, and almoſt all our mares and goates, ſent us out of *England*, dyed at ſea in their paſſage hither; and that thoſe intended to be ſent us out of *Ireland*, were not ſent at all; all which, together with the loſs of our ſix months building occaſioned by our intended removal to a town to be fortifyed, weakned our eſtates, eſpecially the eſtates of the undertakers, who were three or four thouſand pounds ingaged in the joynt ſtock, which was now not above ſo many hundreds; yet many of us laboured to bear it as comfortably as we could, remembring the end of our coming hither, and knowing the power of God, who can ſupport and raiſe us again; and uſeth to bring his ſervants low, that the meek may be made glorious by deliverance.

I have no leiſure to review and inſert things forgotten, but out of due time and order muſt ſet them down as they come to memory. About the end of *October*, this year 1630. I joyned with the Governour, and Mr. *Maverick* in ſending out our pinace to the *Narraganſetts*, to trade for corn, to ſupply our wants; but after the pinace had doubled *Cape Cod*, ſhe put into the next harbour ſhe found, and there meeting with *Indians*, who ſhewed their willingneſs to truck; ſhe made her voyage there, and brought us an hundred buſhels of corn, at about four ſhillings a buſhel, which helped us ſomething. From the coaſt where they traded, they ſaw a very large iſland, four leagues to the eaſt, which the *Indians* commended as a fruitful place, full of good vines, and free from ſharp froſts, having one only entrance into it, by a navigable river, inhabited by a few *Indians*, which for a trifle would leave the iſland, if the *Engliſh* would ſet them upon the main; but the pinace having no direction for diſcovery, returned without ſailing to it, which in two hours they might have done: Upon this coaſt they found ſtore of vines full of grapes dead ripe, the ſeaſon being paſt; whither we purpoſe to ſend the next year ſooner, to make ſome ſmall quantity of wine, if God inable us; the vines growing thin with us, and we not having yet any leiſure to plant vineyards. But now having ſome leiſure to diſcourſe of the motives for other mens coming to this place, or their abſtaining from it; after my brief manner, I ſay this: That if any come hither to plant for worldly ends, that can live well at home, he commits an error, of which he will ſoon repent him: But if for ſpiritual, and that no particular obſtacle hinder his removal, he may find here what may well content him: *viz.* Materials to build, fewel to burn, ground to plant, ſeas and rivers to fiſh in, a pure air to breath in, good water to drink, till wine or beer can be made; which together with the cowes, hoggs and goats brought hither already, may ſuffice for food; as for fowl and veniſon, they are dainties here as well as in *England*. For cloaths and bedding, they muſt bring them with them, till time and induſtry produce them here. In a word, we yet enjoy little to be envyed, but endure much to be pittied in the ſickneſs and mortality of our people. And I do the more willingly uſe this open and plain dealing, leaſt other men ſhould fall ſhort of their expectations, when they come hither, as we to our great prejudice did; by means of letters ſent us from hence into *England*; wherein honeſt men out of a deſire to draw over others to them, wrote ſomewhat hyperbolically of many things here: if any godly men out of religious ends will come over, to help us in the good work we are about: I think they cannot diſpoſe of themſelves, nor of their eſtates more to God's glory, and the furtherance of their own reckoning: but they muſt not be of the poorer ſort yet, for divers years. For we have found by experience, that they have hindred, not furthered the work: and for profane and debauched perſons, their overſight in coming hither is wondred at, where they ſhall find nothing to content them. If there be any endued with grace, and furniſhed with means to feed themſelves and theirs for eighteen months, and to build and plant, let them come into our *Macedonia*, and help us, and not ſpend themſelves and their eſtates in a leſs profitable employment: for others, I conceive they are not yet fitted for this buſineſs.

Touching the diſcouragement which the ſickneſs and mortality which every firſt year hath ſeized upon us, and thoſe of *Plymouth*, as appeareth before, may give to ſuch who have caſt any thoughts this way (of which mortality it may be ſaid of us almoſt as of the *Egyptians*, that there is not an houſe where there is not one dead, and in ſome houſes many) the natural cauſes ſeem to be, the want of warm lodging, and good dyet, to which *Engliſh* men are habituated at home; and in the ſudden increaſe of heat, which they endure that are landed here in ſummer; the ſalt meats at ſea having prepared their bodies thereto; for thoſe only theſe two laſt years dyed of fevers, who landed in *June* and *July*; as thoſe of *Plymouth*, who landed in winter, dyed of the ſcurvy; as did our poorer ſort, whoſe houſing and beding, kept them not ſufficiently warm, nor their dyet ſufficiently in heart: other cauſes God may have, as our faithful miniſter, Mr. *Wilſon* (lately handling that point) ſhewed unto us; which I forbear to mention, leaving this matter to the further diſpute of phyſicians and divines.

Wherefore to return, upon the third of *January*, dyed the daughter of Mr. *Sharp*, a godly virgin, making a comfortable end, after a long ſickneſs. The plantation here received not the like loſs of any woman, ſince we came hither; and therefore ſhe well deſerves to be remembred in this place.

Amongſt thoſe who dyed about the end of this *January*, there was a girl of eleven years old, the daughter of one *John Ruggles*, who in the time of her ſickneſs, expreſſed to the miniſter, and thoſe about her, ſo much faith and aſſurance of ſalvation, as is rarely found in any of that age; which I thought not unworthy here to commit to memory: and if any tax me for waſting paper with recording theſe ſmall matters; ſuch may conſider, that *ſmall things in the beginning of natural or politick bodies, are as remarkable as greater, in bodies full grown.*

Upon the fifth of *February*, arrived here Mr. *Pierce*, with the ſhip *Lyon* of *Briſtol*, with ſupplies of victuals from *England*; who had ſet forth from *Briſtol* the firſt of *December* before. He had a ſtormy paſſage hither, and loſt one of his ſaylors not far from our ſhore, who in a tempeſt having helped to take in the ſprit ſail, loſt his hold as he was coming down, and fell into the ſea; where, after long ſwimming, he was drowned, to the great dolour of thoſe in the ſhip, who beheld ſo lamentable a ſpectacle, without being able to miniſter help to him, the ſea was ſo high, and the ſhip drove ſo faſt before the wind, though her ſails were taken down. By this ſhip we underſtand of the fight of three of our ſhips, and two *Engliſh* men of war coming out of the *Straits*, with fourteen *Dunkirks*, upon the coaſt of *England*, as they returned from us, in the end of the laſt ſummer; who through Gods goodneſs, with the loſs of ſome thirteen or fourteen men, out of our three ſhips; and I know not how many out of the two men of war, got at length clear of them. The *Charles*, one of our three, a ſtout ſhip, of 300 tonn, being ſo torn, that ſhe had not much of her left whole above water. By this ſhip we alſo underſtand of the death of many of thoſe who went from us the laſt year to *England*, as likewiſe of the mortality there; whereby we ſee there are graves in other places as well as with us.

Amongſt others who dyed about this time, was Mr. *Robert Welden*, who in the time of his ſickneſs we had choſen to be captain of 100. foot, but before he took poſſeſſion of his place, he dyed, the ſixteenth of this *February*, and was buried as a ſouldier, with three vollyes of ſhott. Upon the twenty ſecond of *February* we held a general day of thankſgiving throughout the whole colony, for the ſafe arrival of the ſhip which came laſt with our proviſions.

Upon the eighth of *March*, from after it was fair day light, until about eight of the clock in the forenoon, there flew over all the towns in our plantations, ſo many flocks of doves, each flock containing many thouſands, and ſome ſo many, that they obſcured the light, that it paſſeth credit, if but the truth ſhould be written; and the thing was the more ſtrange, becauſe I ſcarce remember to have ſeen ten doves ſince I came into the country: they were all turtles, as appeared by divers of them we killed flying, ſomewhat bigger than thoſe of *Europe*, and they flew from the north-eaſt, to the ſouth-weſt; but what it portends, I know not.

The ſhip now waits but for wind, which when it blowes, there are ready to go aboard therein for *England*, Sir *Richard Saltonſtall*, Mr. *Sharp*, Mr. *Coddington*, and many others; the moſt whereof purpoſe to return to us again, if God will. In the mean time, we are left a people poor and contemptible, yet ſuch as truſt in God; and are contented with our condition, being well aſſured, that he will not fail us nor forſake us. I had almoſt forgotten to add this, that the wheat we received by this laſt ſhip, ſtands us in thirteen or fourteen ſhillings a ſtrike, and the peaſe, about eleven ſhillings a ſtrike, beſides the adventure, which is worth three or four ſhillings a ſtrike; which is an higher price than I ever taſted bread of before.

Thus, *Madam*, I have as I can, told your Honour, all our matters; knowing your wiſdom can make good uſe thereof. If I live not to perform the like office of my duty hereafter, likely it is, ſome other will do it better.

Before the departure of the ſhip (which yet was wind-bound) there came unto us ſagamore *John*, and one of his ſubjects, requiring ſatisfaction for the burning of two wigwams, by ſome of the *Engliſh* ; which wiggwams, were not inhabited, but ſtood in a place convenient for their ſhelter, when upon occaſion, they ſhould travel that way. By examination we found that ſome *Engliſh* fowlers, having retired into that which belonged to the ſubject ; and leaving a fire therin careleſly which they had kindled to warm them, were the cauſe of burning thereof. For that which was the ſagamores, we could find no certain proof how it was fired : yet leaſt he ſhould think us not ſedulous enough to find it out, and ſo ſhould depart diſcontentedly from us ; we gave both him and his ſubject, ſatisfaction for them both.

The like accident of fire alſo befel Mr. *Sharp*, and Mr. *Colborn*, upon the ſeventeenth of this *March* ; both whoſe houſes (which were as good, and as well furniſhed as the moſt in the plantation) were in two hours ſpace burned to the ground ; together with much of their houſhold-ſtuff, apparel, and other things ; as alſo ſome goods of others, who ſojourned with them in their houſes ; God ſo pleaſing to exerciſe us with corrections of this kind, as he hath done with others. For the prevention whereof, in our new town intended this ſummer to be builded ; we have ordered that no man there ſhall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his houſe with thatch, which was readily aſſented unto ; for that divers other houſes have been burned ſince our arrival.

Upon the eighteenth day of *March*, came one from *Salem*, and told us, that upon the fifteenth thereof, there dyed Mrs. *Skelton*, the wife of the other miniſter there. She was a godly and an helpful woman, ſhe lived deſired, and dyed lamented, and well deſerves to be honourably remembred.

Upon the twenty fifth of this *March*, one of *Watertown* having loſt a calf, and about ten of the clock at night, hearing the howling of ſome wolves not far off, raiſed many of his neighbours out of their beds, that by diſcharging their muſkets near about the place where he heard the wolves, he might ſo put the wolves to flight, and ſave his calf: the wind ſerving fit to carry the report of the muſkets to *Roxbury*, three miles off, at ſuch a time; the inhabitants there took an alarm, beat up their drum, armed themſelves, and ſent in poſt to us to *Boſton*, to raiſe us alſo: ſo in the morning, the calf being found ſafe, the wolves affrighted, and our danger paſt, we went merrily to breakfaſt.

I thought to have ended before, but the ſtay of the ſhip, and my deſire to inform your honour of all I can, hath cauſed this addition: and every one having warning to prepare for the ſhips departure to morrow, I am now this twenty eighth of *March*, 1631. ſealing my letters.

Your Honours
Old
Thankful Servant,
THOMAS DUDLEY.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF COLONEL EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, AND OF WILLIAMS COLLEGE, FOUNDED IN 1793, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIS LIBERAL BEQUEST.

COLONEL Ephraim Williams was born at Newtown, near Boſton. He was the oldeſt ſon of Colonel Ephraim Williams; who, afterwards, was one of the firſt ſettlers of Stockbridge, and a Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas in the County of Hampſhire. Colonel Ephraim, the ſon, for ſeveral years in early life, followed the ſeas; but, by the perſuaſion of his father, relinquiſhed that buſineſs. In his ſeveral voyages to Europe, he viſited England, Spain, and Holland; acquired graceful manners, and a conſiderable ſtock of uſeful knowledge. He poſſeſſed uncommon military talents; and in the war between England and France, from the year 1740 to 1748, he found opportunity to exert them. He was appointed Captain of a company in the army raiſed in New-England, in what was called the Canada ſervice. Afterwards he commanded the line of Maſſachuſetts forts, on the weſt ſide of Connecticut-river. During this command, his principal place of reſidence was Hooſack fort. This ſtood on the bank of Hooſack-river, in Adams, about three miles and a half eaſt of Williamſtown. He had alſo under his command a ſmall fort in Williamſtown, which ſtood on an eminence a few rods north-weſt of the meeting-houſe. Under the protection of theſe forts, the firſt ſettlers in this part of the country began their improvements.—Colonel Williams was much converſant with them; and witneſſed, with humane and painful ſenſations, the dangers, difficulties, and hardſhips which they were obliged to encounter. To encourage them, he intimated his intention of doing ſomething liberal and handſome for them.

After the peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, he reſided chiefly at Hatfield, in the County of Hampſhire. When war again broke out between England and France, in 1755, he had the command of a regiment in the army raiſed in this, then, Province, for the general defence. While at Albany, and on his way to join the army, he, on the 22d of July, 1755, made his laſt will. Early in September following, he fell—being ſhot with a muſket ball through the head, in the memorable battle fought with the French and Indians near Lake George. He was then a little more than forty years of age; and had always lived a ſingle life.

In his perſon, he was large and fleſhy. He had a taſte for books; and often lamented his want of a liberal education. His addreſs was eaſy, and his manners pleaſing and conciliating. Affable and facetious, he could make himſelf agreeable in all companies; and was very generally eſteemed, reſpected, and beloved. His kind and obliging deportment, his generoſity and condeſcenſion, greatly endeared him to his ſoldiers. By them, he was uncommonly beloved while he lived, and lamented when dead.

When Captain at Fort-Maſſachuſetts, he frequently entered into the paſtimes of his ſoldiers, upon an equal footing with them, and permitted every decent freedom; and again, when the diverſions were over, he, with eaſe and dignity, reſumed the Captain.

His politeneſs and addreſs procured him a greater influence at the General Court than any other perſon at that day poſſeſſed. He was attentive and polite to all deſcriptions and claſſes of men, but eſpecially to gentlemen of dignified characters; and ſought the company and converſation of men of letters.

The property of Colonel Williams, at the time of his death, was not very conſiderable. It conſiſted principally in notes, bonds, and obligations; and in new lands, in the two weſtern counties of the Commonwealth. Yet, as far as his circumſtances enabled him, he generouſly made proviſion in his will, to anſwer the expectations which he had raiſed in the minds of the firſt ſettlers of Williamſtown. After ſeveral ſmall bequeſts to his relatives and friends, he willed, "That the remainder of his lands ſhould be ſold, at the diſcretion of his executors, within five years after an eſtabliſhed peace; and that the intereſt of the monies ariſing from the ſale, and alſo the intereſt of his notes and bonds, ſhould be applied, to the ſupport of a Free-School, in a townſhip weſt of fort Maſſachuſetts; provided the ſaid townſhip fall within Maſſachuſetts, upon running the line between Maſſachuſetts and New-York, and provided the ſaid townſhip, when incorporated, be called Williamſtown."—Both of theſe conditions took place.

John Worthington, Eſq. of Springfield and Iſrael Williams, Eſq. of Hatfield, the executors of the will, ſold the lands, agreeably to the direction of the teſtator. The monies ariſing from the ſales were loaned to reſponſible men; and mortgages taken to ſecure the payment of principal and intereſt. The yearly intereſt was again loaned; and thus, by the provident and faithful management of the executors, the fund was annually increaſed. In the year 1785, they applied to the General Court for an act to enable them to carry into effect the benevolent intention of the teſtator. An act was accordingly paſſed, incorporating "William Williams, Theodore Sedgwick, Woodbridge Little, John Bacon, Thomſon J. Skinner, Iſrael Jones, and David Noble, Eſquires, the Rev. Seth Swift and the Rev. Daniel Collins, truſtees of the donation of Ephraim Williams, Eſq. for maintaining a Free-School in Williamſtown."

In the year 1788, the truſtees voted to erect a building for the accommodation of the Free-School. A lottery was granted them by the General Court to raiſe the ſum of

4,000 dollars; and the inhabitants of Williamſtown raiſed, by ſubſcription, 2,000 dollars more towards the expenſe of the building. In 1790, a brick building, eighty-two feet long, forty-two wide, and four ſtories high, was erected; containing twenty-eight rooms for the accommodation of the ſtudents, and a chapel, which occupies the ſpace of four rooms. The expenſe of this building, when finiſhed, was eſtimated at about 11,700 dollars. The funds then remaining at intereſt amounted to about the ſame ſum.

In October, 1791, the Free-School (as the act, in conformity to the will, termed it) was opened, under the direction of a preceptor and an Engliſh ſchoolmaſter. An uſher was ſoon afterwards appointed. This ſchool conſiſted of two departments; a grammar-ſchool, or academy, and an Engliſh free-ſchool. The latter was almoſt wholly compoſed of boys from the higher claſſes in the common ſchools in Williamſtown. They were taught reading, writing and arithmetick. In the former, all the arts and ſciences, which compoſe the uſual courſe of education in the New-England colleges, were taught. This department rapidly increaſed in numbers. Youth reſorted to it, not only from the county and vicinity, but from New-York, Canada, and other diſtant parts of the country. Its uſefulneſs, in ſeveral reſpects, and eſpecially in one, was ſoon experienced. Many young men came to this Academy to qualify themſelves to become uſeful and reputable inſtructors of common ſchools. Not a few of them had before taught ſchool; though very imperfectly qualified for the buſineſs. The happy conſequence was, that many of the common ſchools in this part of the country were ſoon furniſhed with much more competent inſtructors than had before been employed.

In this ſituation as to officers and inſtruction, and in a ſtate of increaſing reputation and uſefulneſs, the Free-School and Academy continued till September, 1793. In June of that year, the General Court incorporated the inſtitution into a College; and, in honour to Colonel Williams, whoſe liberal donation laid the foundation of the funds, they called it Williams College. All the gentlemen, who were truſtees of the Free-School, were made truſtees of the College; and to them were added the Rev. Stephen Weſt, D. D. (elected vice-preſident at the firſt ſeſſion of the board) Henry Van Schaack, and Elijah Williams, Eſquires, and the preſident of the College for the time being. The charter, or act of incorporation, allowed the board of truſtees to conſiſt of ſeventeen members, including the preſident—empowered them to fill all vacancies which might take place by death or reſignation —to confer the uſual academick degrees, and doctorates after the firſt day of January, 1800—and to hold property to the clear annual amount of ſix thouſand pounds.—The General Court accompanied this charter with a liberal grant of 4,000 dollars, payable out of the treaſury of the Commonwealth, at four annual inſtalments.

To the gentlemen of the board of truſtees, whoſe names are inſerted in the charter, three have ſince been added by election. Theſe are the Hon. Stephen Van Renſſelaer, of Albany, late lieutenant-governor of the ſtate of New-York, the Rev. Job Swift, of Bennington, Vermont, and the Rev. Ammi R. Robbins, of Norfolk, Connecticut.

In October, 1793, the College was duly organized, and three ſmall claſſes were admitted. The Engliſh Free-School was diſcontinued; but the Grammar-School, or Academy, was continued in connection with the College.

In 1794, a convenient houſe was built, and a lot of ſix acres of land adjoining was purchaſed, for the uſe and accommodation of the preſident.

The General Court, at their ſeſſion in January, 1796, granted to the preſident and truſtees of Williams College the right of locating two townſhips in the Diſtrict of Maine. One of theſe was ſold in May following, for about 10,000 dollars, and the avails of it, with about 2,400 dollars more, applied to the erection of another college edifice. This alſo is of brick, one hundred and four feet by twenty-eight, four ſtories high, and contains thirty-two chambers for the accommodation of ſtudents. Adjoining to each chamber is a bed-room and ſtudy; except three only, which have no bed-room nor ſtudy, and are uſed by the three upper claſſes as recitation chambers. This edifice was finiſhed in 1798. The ſame year, a large and elegant meeting-houſe, built in Williamſtown by ſubſcription, was completed and dedicated. Towards this, the treaſurer of the corporation, by their order, ſubſcribed and paid one hundred pounds; on condition that convenient pews and ſeats ſhould be aſſigned to the officers and ſtudents of College, and that the corporation ſhould have the uſe of the houſe on commencement day, and on other publick days.

About ſix hundred dollars have been expended for a philoſophical apparatus. The articles it contains have been very judiciouſly ſelected; principally by the advice and direction of the Rev. Dr. Prince, of Salem. It wants ſeveral very uſeful and important articles; which, from the ſcantineſs of the funds, cannot at preſent be procured.

The library contains between ſeven and eight hundred volumes only; but they are principally the beſt claſſick, or the moſt approved modern works. This library, though ſo ſmall, with the aid of a good collection of three or four hundred volumes belonging to two ſocieties of under-graduates, furniſhes the officers of College and the ſtudents with a tolerable ſupply of uſeful and neceſſary books. For the privilege of uſing the library, each ſtudent of the two higher claſſes pays twenty-five cents, and each ſtudent of the two lower claſſes ſeventeen cents quarterly. The money thus raiſed amounts annually to ſeventy or eighty dollars; and is a fund, appropriated by law, to repair and augment the library. It is the duty of the preſident to draw it annually from the College treaſury, apply it to this purpoſe, and render an account of its application yearly to the board of truſtees. This wiſe regulation enables the preſident to add every year to the library ſome of the beſt European and American publications.

The executive officers and inſtructors are a preſident, a vice-preſident, and three or four tutors. The vice-preſident has no ſalary, and takes no part in the inſtruction or government of College, but in caſe of the death or reſignation of the preſident, and until another preſident is elected and inducted into office. The ſalaries of the preſident and tutors are very moderate; amounting, when there are four tutors, to only one thouſand nine hundred dollars, excluſive of twenty dollars to the ſenior tutor, as librarian; viz. to the preſident, eight hundred dollars, and to each tutor, two hundred and ſeventy-five dollars.

Commencement is held on the firſt Wedneſday of September annually. The firſt commencement was held in 1795. One hundred and five ſtudents of the College, and thirty other gentlemen, have received its public honours. One hundred and three ſtudents now belong to the four under-graduate claſſes.

In the courſe of ten years, viz. from 1789 to 1799, the truſtees expended, in neceſſary buildings and accommodations for the officers and ſtudents, and in a ſmall library, and apparatus, about twenty-eight thouſand dollars. Theſe expenditures were, in their opinion, abſolutely neceſſary, in order to meet and encourage the rapid increaſe of the inſtitution. While they gratefully acknowledge the liberality of their firſt benefactor, Colonel Williams, and the generous aid afforded them by the Legiſlature of the Commonwealth ; they entertain pleaſing hopes that Providence will raiſe them up other friends, benefactors, and patrons, as their neceſſities call for aſſiſtance. A chapel, and additions to the apparatus are, at preſent, very much wanted.

The ſituation of the College, in a decent, thriving country town, is found, by experience, to be highly favourable to the improvement, and morals of the youth. Comparatively few temptations to diſſipation and vice are preſented to them. The happy conſequence has been, that cloſe application to ſtudy, due obſervance of the laws, decent manners, and good morals, have, with very few exceptions, characterized the youth who have reſorted to the College for education. And it is hoped, that the ſame orderly conduct, application, decency of manners and purity of morals will continue, through every ſucceſſive generation of ſtudents.

Williamſtown, Jan. 26, 1802.

A TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF MARBLEHEAD.

THE town of Marblehead in the county of Eſſex, and Commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts, was originally a part of Salem in the ſame county ; detached therefrom, and incorporated as a town, May 2d, 1649. The town is divided from Foreſt river principally, on each ſide of which, in Salem as well as Marblehead, are ſome tolerable ſituations for agriculture. The firſt ſettlers made their pitch on the eaſtern ſide of the town, taking advantage of a very good harbour, running north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, and towards half a mile on an average.* At the ſouth-weſt end of the harbour the town is connected with the *Great Neck*, ſo called, by a very narrow iſthmus, ſeparating the waters of Lynn bay from thoſe of the harbour.

About the year 1728, it was found that the ſea was faſt encroaching on the ſouth-weſt ſide of this iſthmus, ſo as to endanger the preſervation and ſecurity of the harbour. The government of the province at that time attended to the ſubject, as it reſpected not only the town in particular, but the trade of the province in general ; and ordered by an *Act* the ſum of thirteen hundred and twenty-eight pounds, to be paid out of the public treaſury, for *neceſſary repairs*. It ſeems that about the year 1762, ſome *neceſſary repairs* were made. In the year 1790, although the town had carefully endeavoured to *ſecure*, *ſupport*, and *keep the ſame in good repair*, the Government of the Commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts, conſidering that the preſervation of the ſaid harbour was a matter of public concern, &c. granted a ſum of £.1000 to be raiſed by a lottery or lotteries, the proceeds whereof ſhould be applied in repairing the fortifications of the iſthmus, before that time made, and in further ſecuring the ſame.

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* The ſoil is very rocky, if any part of this rough ſpot can be called *ſoil*—to a ſtranger it appears more like a ridge of rocks than ground for cultivation. In the oration upon the death of Preſident Holyoke, who had been once a miniſter in this town, it is deſcribed,

" *Marmaracria*, oppidum maritimum, ſaxis abundans : inde, novanglicè dictum, Marblehead. Aſperrima vox, aures latinas horridè perſtringens.

This indulgence was peculiarly opportune and acceptable, as the town ſuffered by diſtreſſes conſequent upon the American revolution. About the year 1742, this town was authoriſed by the Government, it ſeems, with a grant of £.690 to erect within the town or harbour a good and ſufficient breaſt-work, and a platform built for the accommodation of 12-pounders, or other guns equivalent, and ſuitable warlike ſtores. This fort was of courſe erected, and carefully attended, under the inſpection of the late Captain Thomas Gerry, the commanding officer, and others, till it became the property of the United States of America, with uſual proviſos, attending ſuch publick property; and is now become a very reſpectable fortification as a key to protect the interior part of Salem, its fort and citadel, and the interior part of Beverly.

The body of the town is near four miles in length, and two miles wide, containing about 3,700 acres. The *Great Neck*, ſo called, is about one mile in length and half a mile wide on an average, and contains about 300 acres. The whole may be eſtimated about 4,000 acres, excluſive of two ſmall iſlands. The town is bounded on the north, the eaſt, and ſouth-weſt, by Salem bay, the ſea, and Lynn bay; and weſt and north-weſt, by Salem and Foreſt-river; ſo ſolitary and detached, that it is not a thorough fair to other places.

The firſt ſettlers, though few in number, and ſmall in means, attached themſelves in part to agriculture, but principally to the cod-fiſhery and merchandize, which has been the caſe very much with their poſterity.

In the year 1714, the place is thus deſcribed by one* who was capable of making juſt obſervations upon men and manners; and who lived long enough to ſee it in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate: "There were two companies of men, badly clothed, who attempted to do military duty, but trained to no military diſcipline but that of *whipping the ſnake*, as they called it. Now, (in 1766) and for years paſt we have ſeen it, a diſtinct regiment is completed of ſeven companies, well clad, bright countenances, vigorous and active men; ſo well trained in the uſe of their arms, and the various motions and marches, as to exceed moſt other regiments in the country, and equal the beſt in the appearance of ſpirited men, and the manual exerciſe."

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* Rev. Mr. Barnard's diary, in MS.

The ſame writer obſerves, that the town improved in every thing elſe equal to the excellence exhibited at a military review. Early in the century, or before 1720, "There was not a carpenter, a tailor, nor maſon, nor butcher in the town; nor any thing of a market worth naming. They had their houſes built by country workmen, and their clothes made out of town, and ſupplied themſelves with beef and pork from Boſton, which drained the town of its money. Some years after, the town abounded with artificers, good workmen of every deſcription, and the market had a full ſupply. At the time before mentioned, there was not one foreign veſſel, although the town always poſſeſſed every advantage for a free and extenſive navigation. The people contented themſelves to be ſlaves to work in the mines, leaving it to the merchants of Salem, Boſton, and Europe, to carry off the gains, by which means the town was poor, and in debt:—ſo much were they involved in debt to merchants of other places, that very few families, not more than twenty, were independent as to their circumſtances. They were generally a rude, ſwearing, drunken, and fighting crew, but as they increaſed in numbers, they made improvements in ſocial life, in virtue and good morals. By the middle of the century, the manners of the people were ſo much cultivated, as to be remarkable for their civilities, and eſpecially for their hoſpitality to ſtrangers. There were not only gentleman-like families, and pious and well behaved people in the town, but the very fiſhermen roſe ſuperior to the rudeneſs of the former generations. When they were perſuaded by individuals of publick ſpirit to ſend their fiſh to foreign markets, they ſoon became converſant with the myſteries of trade, they ſoon likewiſe became ſenſible of the advantage they ſhould reap by it. And while individuals grew rich, the town alſo received the benefit.

"Mr. Joſeph Swett, a young man of ſtrict juſtice, of great induſtry, enterpriſing genius, quick apprehenſion, and firm reſolution, but ſmall fortune, was the firſt man who engaged in it. He ſent a cargo to Barbadoes, and from the profits of the voyage found that he increaſed his ſtock, and went on building veſſels : Till he was enabled to ſend veſſels to Europe, loading them with fiſh, and pointing out to *others the path* to *riches*. The more promiſing young men of the town followed his example ; and from this ſmall beginning, Marblehead became one of the firſt trading towns of the *Bay*. In the year 1766, there were between thirty and forty ſhips, brigs, ſnows, and topſail ſchooners engaged in foreign trade."

The town before the American revolution (in the words of a reſpectable gentleman, who preached the ſermon at the ordination of Mr. Hubbard) "as to its numbers and opulence, ſwarmed with inhabitants, was a pattern of induſtry, flouriſhed in trade, and abounded with wealth ; from hence, as from a fountain, ſtreams of wealth flowed out, which greatly enriched the vicinity, and penetrated far into the country."

About the year 1770, this town was ſuppoſed to contain a greater number of inhabitants than any other town of the province, Boſton excepted ; its proportion in the province tax was next to Boſton, and was ſuppoſed at that time to have imported more hard money than any other town in the province.

The locality of the immediate and direct buſineſs of the cod-fiſhery, renders it very natural that diſaſters attending the ſame might be concentrated to one point of view ; while the extenſive ramifications of mercantile buſineſs from the Diſtrict of Maine to the State of Georgia, does not afford the advantage of a central point at which to average loſſes in this laſt reſpect.

The town of Marblehead is one of the few that have earneſtly entered into this buſineſs of cod-fiſhery. In general, the town have been ſucceſsful ; but at ſome periods their ſucceſs has been checked. A ſtriking inſtance of it is that in the year 1771. The diſaſters they met with in that time were ſuch, as to leave, in a helpleſs ſituation, a very conſiderable number of widows and fatherleſs children. Much to the credit of the government of the province at the time being, and of the good people thereof, it muſt be obſerved in this recital, that by means of a *Brief*, iſſued by the government, the ſum of £.117-16-10-¾ was collected for the relief of the poor and diſtreſſed perſons

ſons in ſaid town of Marblehead, and committed to a reſpectable committee for diſtribution. In contraſt to the diſaſter laſt mentioned, it may be remarked, with gratitude to Him who permits Zebulon to rejoice in his goings forth, that, in Auguſt 4, 1800, arrived into the port of Marblehead ſixteen bankers from the fiſhing banks, averaging 650 quintals each; total, 10,400 quintals of fiſh: beſides remarkable ſucceſs during both the years 1800—1801. On July 18, of the laſt mentioned year, one fiſhing ſchooner arrived from the banks, on her firſt fare, with 28,000, tantamount to 900 quintals.

After the year 1771, their numbers and opulence, at this given period, conſidered, began a ſeries of diſaſters "*horrenda dictu.*"

The firſt was on the introduction of the ſmall-pox into the town, and the deſtruction of the hoſpital at Cat iſland, near the town. This iſland belonged to the town of Salem, and the treſpaſs was againſt the town as well as the proprietors of the hoſpital, as the iſland was their ſoil. It was to be attributed to the rude and uncultivated conduct of ſome individuals, unreſtrained by government, influenced by private piques, and not led by animoſities of any other kind.

Their next and a prominent inconvenience took place at the commencement of the American revolution: having been nearly exhauſted in property, they were overtaken in a common reſentment of injuries offered to the provinces by their *parent country*. Through this revolution they paſſed, perhaps in greater diſtreſs than any other place in the United States. Their opulent merchants leaving their ſtand for buſineſs, ſubmitting their property to be ſacrificed, and retiring to interior parts for immediate ſafety: another claſs of citizens being obliged to do the ſame; and a different claſs forced into the land and ſea ſervice, contrary to their former habits; beſides another claſs that took joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods, and ſtood by the ſtuff.

In the politicks of their country they have ever taken a part. The compiler* of this, well remembers an inſtance in the publick rejoicing on the repeal of the *Stamp Act*: in the courſe of which, an excellent member of ſociety,

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* ISAAC MANSFIELD, Eſq.

ety, civil and eccleſiaſtical, from pure and unadulterated patriotiſm, diſplayed his feelings by a golden candleſtick for the place of the king, and a ſilver candleſtick for each of his miniſters, beautifully illuminating his illuminated houſe!

In the diſtreſſes to which the town of Boſton was reduced by the *Boſton Port Bill*, which took place, June 1, 1774, and by other ſubſequent acts of parliament, while large ſupplies of proviſions were furniſhed by different towns, Marblehead was not deficient. It appears, by their inſtructions to their repreſentative, June 6, 1774, that their feelings were alive for the diſtreſſed, but truly reſpectable Boſtonians; directing that the Boſtonians ſhould not be ſuffered to bear more than their proportionable part of the unrighteous ſacrifice then making of their intereſt; propoſing that the ſame ſhould be equally borne, if not by the provinces in general, by this in particular; averring, that in ſupporting them, they ſhould be propping the tottering liberties of America. At the ſame meeting of the town, by a vote, they directed the ſelectmen to accommodate the inhabitants of Boſton, and other towns immediately affected by the Port Bill, during its operation, with the uſe of their publick buildings, free of any expenſe. At the ſame time, their merchants, partaking of the ſame philanthropick and patriotick principles, opened their ſtores, and offered their wharves, to the convenience of ſuch of their oppreſſed neighbours as might be thereby accommodated.

In the year 1775, the town of Marblehead furniſhed of its own inhabitants to the publick ſervice one intire regiment, completely officered and manned; the value of this regiment at that trying period, compoſed of men inured to fatigue and danger, and not waſted by ſickneſs in any *one* inſtance, is beſt determined by a recollection of their patience, bravery and effective ſervice.

The valiant James Mugford, who was the commander in taking a powder ſhip from the enemy, early in the courſe of the American war, and loſt his life in the enterpriſe, and whoſe family has never yet received the bounty provided by government in ſuch caſe, was an inhabitant of this town. In the year 1780, a brig, with the commander and his crew, belonging to this town, was captured by a

Britiſh privateer; they ſoon took poſſeſſion of the privateer, and thereby availed themſelves of the brig.

In the year 1782, three lads were put on board a brig at Quebeck, to be ſent to England; after having been at ſea a few days, they took poſſeſſion of her, and conducted her in ſafety to this town, the place of their nativity. In the ſame year, the ſhip St. Helena, eſcorting an American fleet from Havana to Philadelphia, was taken by the Britiſh ſloop of war Lively, commanded by Michael Stanhope, Eſq.; about ten of the priſoners, under the direction of three lads, of this place (each of them under twenty-one years of age) retook the Lively, and conducted her into Havana, where ſhe was ſold for a very handſome price. Indeed, the particular narration of ſimilar enterprizes, appropriated to the inhabitants of this place, would ſwell this recital too much; for which the compiler muſt very particularly apologize to the readers and others intereſted.

	Rateable Polls.	*Tons of Shipping.*	*Inhabitants.*
1772	1203	12,313	——
1780	544	——	——
1783	873	1,509	4443
1790	1112	——	5661
1800	1108	——	5204

The cenſus of 1800, compared with that of 1790, ſhews a decreaſe; this decreaſe is to be attributed in part, if not wholly, to the emigration of many families and individuals, as well as the waſte of many other individuals in the ſea ſervice, who had been enumerated in the cenſus of 1790. In a natural ſtate of things, the number of females in the human ſpecies is about equal to the number of males; and *while*, for ſome purpoſe hidden in the counſels of Infinite Wiſdom, wars,&c. are permitted, a proper balance *is* preſerved between the ſexes, notwithſtanding the uſual and common waſte or deficiency, occaſioned by wars and ſea ſervice; ſuch an accurate proportion continued between males and females, tends very greatly to prove the providential government of God, if ſuch proof or confirmation can be wanting or found convenient. However, it may be conſidered as ſingular, that in the late cenſus of this town, there are found to be, including all ages, two hundred and eighty four females more than males.

At a meeting of this town of Marblehead, on March 16, 1789, it was voted to preſent his Excellency JOHN ADAMS, Eſq. (then *ſecond* in rank to GEORGE WASHINGTON, the father and ſaviour of his country) with an addreſs; which addreſs was in the following words, viz.

"SIR,

"The inhabitants of Marblehead, in common with "their fellow-citizens, have ever felt ſtrongly impreſſed "with ſentiments of gratitude and ſatisfaction for the em- "inent ſervices rendered by you to the United States of "America in all their foreign negociations, which have "been committed to your charge. In conſidering the "reſult of theſe negociations, we find ourſelves under very "peculiar obligations for your faithful and unſhaken pat- "ronage of the fiſhery, which we apprehended to have "been in danger from the politicks and intereſts of pow- "erful nations.

"We therefore, now being legally aſſembled in town- "meeting, pray your Excellency to accept this our unan- "imous addreſs, as expreſſing our ſenſe of thoſe eſſential "benefits, which we now enjoy in the preſervation of the "fiſhery, for which we believe ourſelves more eſpecially "indebted to your Excellency.

"While we are enjoying the fulneſs of thoſe benefits, "we pray your Excellency will indulge us to furniſh your "table with a ſmall ſhare of the fruits of your good ſer- "vices, which we wiſh may be accepted as a mark of our "gratitude."

It may be obſerved, that an increaſe of natural and moral evil, will bear ſome proportion to an increaſe of population and its concomitants. It ſeems deſigned by Providence, that various and differing kingdoms, nations, &c. ſhall at ſome period, become united as one; commerce naturally tends to this object: but, as it is neceſſary to check an undue ambition, the wiſdom of Providence permits an evil to attend this important tendency; and, commonly diſſipation and vice are mutually and alternately imported and exported ; though the ſame Providence gives a remedy in the caſe by ſupplying the growing number of inhabitants with the means of encouraging inſtitutions of religion and education, and frequently we find a diſpoſition in mankind to devote a part of their attention to theſe important objects. Where inſtitutions of religion are ſupported and connected with a liberal toleration of different denominations, and where education is encouraged with the ſame indulgence, conſidering the very great variety in the improvement of the human mind, under ſuch advantages, it muſt be very ſtrange, to find all agreeing entirely in opinion ; and in fact, we may plainly trace the wiſdom of Providence in this reſpect, inaſmuch as difference in opinions on religious or political ſubjects, if attended with a generous toleration, may operate in mollifying diſcordant apprehenſions, and extinguiſhing violence of party ſpirit. The common differences in opinion on theſe ſubjects have ever been preſerved in this place in the bonds of peace, and a common medium, between the extremes of intolerance, has been invariably purſued.

It is very ſingular, that, notwithſtanding the inhabitants of this town have ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves, as well by their attachment to means of education as to thoſe of religion, at the ſame time diſplaying their patriotiſm and ſenſe of the importance of publick virtue ; ſo few of their ſons were found honoured with a place in the catalogue of the Harvard Univerſity, previous to the American revolution. Directed by his own ſenſe of the importance of education, the Rev. John Barnard, by his laſt *will*, depoſited with the ſaid Univerſity a teſtimonial of his regard to the intereſts of religion and literature.

At or about the commencement of the American revolution, the finances of the town were ſuch as to render it convenient to them, as well as to their duty, to addreſs themſelves to the important ſubject of education of the riſing generation, and ſupport an adequate number of ſchools for the purpoſe : but *inter arma ſilent leges*. In other words, all inſtitutions for the regular government of political bodies of men and for education of their riſing poſterity, muſt be proſtrated in a ſtate *of war*.

Gradually advancing from the embarraſſed circumſtances, in which the late revolution left them, about the beginning of the year 1788, the parents of four or five and twenty youths in Marblehead, obſerving that the publick grammar-ſchool and writing-ſchools upon private eſtabliſhment there, were ſo much crowded with ſcholars, that their children could not have that attention of the maſters, however well qualified they might be for their reſpective departments, that they (the parents) conceived neceſſary for their making ſuch progreſs in literature, as they might reaſonably expect, had in contemplation, and formed a deſign, of procuring a preceptor to teach their children only reading, writing, Engliſh grammar, the Latin and Greek languages, arithmetick, accounts, geography, muſick, rhetorick, the art of ſpeaking, &c. And at the ſame time to inſtil into their minds, virtuous and religious principles; whereby they might become uſeful members of ſociety:—and out of their number they ſelected certain perſons, as their truſtees, to carry their deſign into execution, by procuring a proper perſon for a preceptor, and engaging him a ſuitable ſalary, providing a proper place for attending the inſtruction of the pupils, and to regulate the ſchool reſpecting the inſtruction and government thereof; and to theſe truſtees the parents of the pupils were to pay their proportion of the charges, quarterly.

The truſtees of this inſtitution ſo exerted themſelves, that about the firſt of April, 1788, the ſchool was opened, in a building of Mr. Jeremiah Proctor, in the north-weſt part of the town, being the moſt convenient place then to be obtained: the ſchool having the name of *the Academy* applied to it.

The preceptor, for the firſt ſix months, was Mr. Freeman,* a gentleman of ſuch accompliſhments as to afford the proprietors (or undertakers) of the ſchool a proſpect equal to their fondeſt wiſhes for their children. Mr. Freeman was ſucceeded by Mr. Harris,† not leſs accompliſhed for the important ſervice, who continued in the preceptor's chair ſeveral years.

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* Graduated at the Univerſity of Cambridge (Maſſachuſetts) 1787.

† Graduated at the Univerſity aforementioned, 1786.

In the beginning of the year 1789, a number of publick ſpirited perſons, among whom were ſome, if not all the truſtees of the academy, taking into conſideration the propriety of there being in the town of Marblehead, a building adapted to publick uſes, ſuch as an aſſembly-room, occaſional exhibitions, meetings of the ſelectmen, aſſeſſors, and other town-officers, academical exerciſes, &c. have, with great diſpatch, erected an elegant building, in a place now called School-ſtreet.—One part of this building being accommodated to the purpoſes of a ſchool, with a ſpecial view to the truſtees of the academy procuring and hiring it for that purpoſe; gives occaſion of the whole edifice being called by the name of *Academy-Hall.* The ſcholars of the academy moved unto this edifice, June 30th, 1789; and, on the 6th day of July, there was had there, a publick annual exhibition of academical exerciſes; to the general ſatisfaction of near three hundred ſpectators from this* and the neighbouring towns.

Mr. Joſeph Prince, a young gentleman of ſeventeen years of age, having been, about four or five years before, initiated in Latin grammar, at the publick ſchool, where he read Cheever's Accidence, Clark's Corderius, Æſop's Fables, and perhaps Eraſmus; and afterwards having been employed by a ſhop-keeper; became a pupil in the acad emy, at its firſt opening, in 1788, beginning his ſtudies there by reading Caſtalio's Dialogues; and, without any extra and ſpecial care and attention of the preceptors, ha been fitted for college, and was ſome time in the ſai month of July laſt offered at and admitted a ſtudent o the Univerſity of Cambridge, in the Commonwealth o Maſſachuſetts.

This young gentleman, the firſt fruit of this academy appeared to give credit to it; he paſſed the term of hi education at the Univerſity with diſcretion, and advantag to himſelf; ſoon after he received the uſual honours o the ſame, he retired into the interior parts of New-Hampſhire, where he became the preceptor of an academy.

Having been impreſſed in a ſerious manner in hi younger years, he now diſplayed his promiſing talents as preacher, and was very ſoon invited to take *the paſtoral care* of a church, to which he had early devoted himſelf.

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* Marblehead.

But the great Head of the church was pleaſed, in infinite wiſdom, to nip the bud, and check riſing expectations by his death, after a very ſhort ſickneſs, and before he could be regularly ſeparated to the work of a goſpel miniſter.

Beſide the laſt mentioned, ſeveral others have been initiated in this academy into the firſt principles and rudiments of the dead languages, ſome having completed their college education; and others now progreſſing.

Of perſons *not* born in Marblehead, *inhabitants*, and graduated at Harvard College, the number is	21
Of perſons born in Marblehead and graduated, &c.	30
Of another claſs, not graduated, - - -	6
Now progreſſing in education at the Univerſity, -	4

In addition to the ſtanding ſchool, capable of accommodating from one hundred to two hundred pupils, the town has erected two buildings for publick ſchools, beſide ſupporting other ſchools for the benefit of the lower claſſes of pupils.

May it be found, that among the *rough rocks* there are *ſtones* to be met with, capable of receiving a proper poliſh; may light be emitted equal to the luſtre of the choiceſt diamonds; and the ancient obſervation be verified,

> ———Sint Mæcenates
> Nunquam deſerunt Marones.

Preſent your geniuſes capable of improvement, they ſhall be ſupplied with able inſtructors!

ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.]—The eccleſiaſtical affairs of ſo reſpectable a people as the inhabitants of Marblehead, merit ſome more particular attention than a general account of the paſtors, or the order of the churches. No place in Maſſachuſetts can be mentioned where they have paid more reſpect to the clergy, or have been more regular in their attendance upon publick worſhip.

The Rev. Samuel Cheever, their firſt miniſter, was ordained 1684. He had preached with them ſixteen years previouſly to his ſettlement; and died in the year 1724, aged eighty-five. He was a man furniſhed with good abilities, both natural and acquired ; a conſtant and zealous preacher. Above fifty years, he preached without being taken off from his labours one ſabbath. In October, 1719, the infirmities of age obliged him to take leave of his ſtated exerciſes, which he did from thoſe words, John ix. 4. *I muſt work the works of him that ſent me, while it is day*, &c. He was a man of peace, and a catholick mind ; would never join himſelf to any party in the town, but thoſe which were for God and religion againſt vice and immorality. It was a ſignal favour to Marblehead, that he lived to ſuch an age, and that he was bleſſed with ſuch a conſtitution and firm health, as to be able to ſay that he never was ſick in all his life. When he died, the lamp of life fairly burnt out ; for he felt no pain even in his expiring moments. He left a widow, who had been his companion fifty-four years, and ſeveral children. Some of their deſcendants remain to this day ; among them, have been worthy miniſters, and others equally reſpectable in a different line of life.*

In the year 1714, Mr. Cheever being aged, though not otherwiſe infirm, the church invited candidates to preach ; and after hearing ſeveral well accompliſhed young men, made choice of Mr. John Barnard, for their aſſiſtant paſtor. He was born in Boſton, 1681, and died in January, 1770, at Marblehead. His education was begun at the grammar-ſchool in Boſton, and in the year 1696, he entered Harvard College, where he graduated in the year 1700. This man was reckoned famous among the divines of our country, and was looked up to as the father of the churches, during the latter part of his life; having a vigour of mind and zeal uncommon at ſuch an age. His ſtature was remarkably erect, and never bent under the infirmities of eighty-eight years. His countenance was grand, his mein majeſtick, and there was a dignity in his whole deportment. His preſence reſtrained every imprudence and folly of youth; and when the aged ſaw him, they aroſe and ſtood up.*

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* The family of Cheevers have been remarkable for longevity. The famous Ezekiel Cheever, author of the *Accidence*, *Scripture Prophecies*, &c. was the father of Mr. Cheever of Marblehead. He died in the year 1708, aged ninety-four. He had been for ſeventy years a ſchoolmaſter, firſt at New-Haven, in the year 1637 ; then at Ipſwich ; then at Charleſtown ; and from the year 1670 to his death was preceptor of Boſton grammar-ſchool. There have been ſeveral of the family who died near ninety, and at fourſcore. They were equally remarkable for florid health while they lived, as for the number of years.

It is among the deſiderata of the Hiſtorical Society to have biographical ſketches of the excellent maſter *Ezekiel Cheever*, who was ſo uſeful to the town of Boſton and the whole country. His *Accidence* has been through more than twenty editions, and retains its credit now among the very beſt books for children when they are taught the rudiments of the Latin tongue. The ſermon, preached at his death by Dr. Cotton Mather, was reprinted at the expenſe of Ezekiel Price, Eſq. S. H. S. his great-grandſon.

He was fond of active life; and in his youth diſcovered ſuch a ſpirit of enterpriſe, that he was one of the firſt that entered the fort at Boſton, when the people took poſſeſſion of it, in the time of Sir *Edmund Androſs*. He was appointed, by Governor Dudley, one of the chaplains that went with the army to Port-Royal, in 1707, (now Annapolis) to reduce that fortreſs to the Britiſh crown. In an attempt to take a plan of the fort, a cannon ball was fired at him, that covered him with dirt; but did no other harm, except diverting him from his purpoſe.

In 1709, upon repeated invitations by Captain John Wentworth, (afterwards Lieut. Governor of New-Hampſhire) he ſailed with him to Barbadoes and London. While he was in London, happened the affair of Dr. Sacheverel, of which he would often ſpeak, mentioning ſuch minute circumſtances as we might expect from the prejudices of an American puritan, united with the garrulity of old age.—All parties now view the buſineſs of Sacheverel's trial, as a political rather than a religious phrenſy, and the ſucceeding generation looked with contempt upon what had excited the indignation of their fathers. Mr. Barnard was intimate with ſome of the famous diſſenting miniſters, ſuch as Dr. Oldfield, Mr. Fleming and Dr. Calamy, and had ſome advantageous offers of ſettlement if he would remain in England. It is mentioned in his own diary, that he alſo had the offer of going to Ireland with Lord Wharton, as his chaplain, but refuſed to conform to the articles of the national church. Soon after this, he returned to ſeek a ſettlement in his own country.

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* Vid. Whitwell's funeral ſermon.

When the north end of Boſton grew very populous, the *Second Church* was too much crowded for the convenience of thoſe who attended worſhip there; ſeveral of the brethren agreed to purchaſe a ſpot, and erect another building. They converſed with Mr. Barnard upon the ſubject, and it was mutually agreed that he ſhould be the paſtor. The church was erected, and in May, 1714, he preached the dedication ſermon, and ſuppoſed that Divine Providence had here fixed the bounds of his habitation. But a more popular candidate being invited, at the deſire of Dr. Cotton Mather, to preach for this people, they choſe him for their paſtor. Mr. Barnard was hurt by the unkind treatment he received, and never ſpoke of it without a pathos of reſentment, even to the day of his death.* During this year he ſettled at Marblehead, and preached as a colleague with Mr. Cheever, nearly ten years; but from 1719, the ſervice was performed by him. He preached a funeral ſermon upon the death of Mr. Cheever. He often printed occaſional diſcourſes, and was the author of ſeveral books of devotion, which from time to time were emitted from the preſs. Beſide ſingle diſcourſes, a volume of ſermons upon *the myſtery of the goſpel*, another on *the imperfection of the creature*; and one upon *the confirmation of the chriſtian religion*, ſhow his theological knowledge, and good talents for compoſition. His ſtyle of writing is diffuſe and plain, but warm and energetick. As a poet, he did not make the figure which he did as a divine. His verſion of the Pſalms, which he fondly hoped would be ſung in all the New-England churches, was never introduced into any church out of the town where they were compoſed. He could not warble with Watts in lyrick ſongs, nor did he diſcover that he had muſick in his ſoul by verſifying the Pſalms of David.

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* The meeting-houſe built for Mr. Barnard, and dedicated by him, May 23, 1714, from Gen. xxviii. 17, was taken down during the preſent year, 1802, in the month of Auguſt. The corner-ſtone of the new houſe was laid, September 23, 1802. A collection of ſilver currency of the country, and a ſilver plate, are depoſited underneath. The inſcription on the plate is,

New North Church, built A. D. 1714.
Repaired and much enlarged, 1729.
A tower and ſteeple erected, 1764.
Taken down *pro bono publico*
A. D. 1802.
John Eliot, Paſtor of ſaid Church.
Laus Deo.

His knowledge, however, was not confined to theology, but he turned his attention to ſcientifick ſubjects, ſtudied mathematicks, and excelled in a ſkill for naval architecture: Several draughts of his, have been commended by maſter ſhip-builders. Such were the amuſements of his leiſure hours.

By prudence in his affairs he ſaved conſiderable property, yet gave tythes of all he poſſeſſed. His charity was worthy of imitation. It was not to give encouragement to beggars, nor to act from the mere impulſe of compaſſion, like thoſe who liſten to the ſtory of vagrants; but he ſought thoſe objects of the good man's bounty, who modeſtly hide their wants. The poor were often fed, and the widow's heart ſang for joy, but knew not where to return thanks except to that God who is a friend of the wretched. One kind of charity was peculiar—He kept two boys at ſchool, whoſe parents were unable to bear the charge, which has been of much ſervice to the community, beſide the benefit the children received from the generoſity of their benefactor. By his laſt will, he gave two hundred pounds to that ancient ſeat of learning, Harvard College. He left a widow, but no children, except ſuch as he had adopted. With the property to his heirs, he left to the town and country a name better than great riches.

Mr. Barnard was the ſecond miniſter who died in Marblehead, except one worthy gentleman of the Epiſcopal church, Mr. Bours, who was taken off in the midſt of his days and uſefulneſs. Mr. Cheever and he were continued more than a century, from the time that gentleman preached to the people in 1668. The one never knew what ſickneſs was, and the other was never obliged to leave official duties but once, in the ſummer of 1746.

In the year 1762, Mr. William Whitwell was ordained aſſiſtant miniſter of this Firſt Church of Marblehead: a very reſpectable, ſerious and worthy man, of ſtrict integrity and good ſenſe. He was ordained the fourteenth of January, and was paſtor only twenty years. He died at a time when the inhabitants of the town were in great ſtrait and difficulties, and needed the advice, friendſhip, and conſolations of ſuch a miniſter, who naturally cared for them and was intereſted in their ſufferings.

Mr. Ebenezer Hubbard ſucceeded Mr. Whitwell, wa ordained January 1, 1783, and died 1800, in the month of October.

It ſeems like a repeated frown of divine Providence that, amidſt their other troubles, they ſhould alſo partake of this kind of ſorrow. They, who had been bleſſed with the labours of two miniſters for near a century, had to mourn the death of two in quick ſucceſſion.

The expenſe attending the death and reſettlement of paſtors would be conſidered, by a people leſs remarkable for the beneficent virtues; but a noble and generous ſpirit, frankneſs of ſpeech and manners, characteriſe the inhabitants of this commercial ſpot. Fallen from circumſtances of eaſe and affluence, they are always ready to ſupport the clergy, and pay every tribute laid upon them for the good of the community.

Mr. Samuel Dana was ordained paſtor of the Firſt Church, October 7, 1801.

The Second Church in Marblehead was formed when Mr. Barnard was ſettled aſſiſtant paſtor with the aged Mr. Cheever. Mr. Edward Holyoke was one of the candidates who ſupplied the pulpit, and gained a reſpectable minority in his favour; who, rather than make a diſpute in the ſociety, parted with their brethren on friendly terms, and erected another meeting-houſe. He was much eſteemed as a ſcholar and gentleman, and when Preſident Wadſworth died, was choſen preſident of Harvard College, and introduced to that reſpectable ſtation, A. D. 1737. He died, A. D. 1769; and his character is thus drawn by one of the Fellows of the College.

"Thoſe, who have ſubdued nations and ravaged empires, have not failed of writers, who have recorded their heroick deeds, and raiſed literary monuments to their memory. But let not the hero—rather the homicide, who has, in one day, ruined whole provinces;—let not the tyrant, who has owed his greatneſs to the ſlavery of millions, be celebrated in the records of fame, while the patron of ſcience, the friend of mankind, and the advocate of religion, who has always aimed at promoting the happineſs of the world, have his actions paſſed over in ſilence, and his name buried in oblivion! Rather, let thoſe publick robbers—the enemies of their ſpecies, be held in everlaſting contempt and deteſtation; while theſe worthies, who, like the all-cheering ſun, have diffuſed their benign influences around, have their names tranſmitted with honour to the lateſt poſterity.

" To commemorate the virtues of men of this latter character, who have acted their part well on the ſtage of life, is always grateful to generous minds; and while benevolence and gratitude prompt to it, the voice of the world juſtly demands it. Of this character was the Reverend Edward Holyoke, late Preſident of Harvard College, who departed this life laſt Thurſday, about three o'clock in the morning, in the eightieth year of his age. An attempt therefore, to produce to view ſome of the many excellent qualities that diſtinguiſhed him, cannot but be approved by all, but the foes of virtue.

" This venerable man was deſcended from an ancient and reputable family; but far from intirely deriving his dignity from *that*, which is too often the caſe of many, his own worth would have adorned any family.

" His natural powers, which were very good, were greatly improved by an education at the College; and after he had received its honours, he did not neglect his ſtudies, but proſecuted them with vigour and ſucceſs, and accumulated a great fund of uſeful knowledge, in hiſtory, the learned languages, and the ſciences in general; but eſpecially natural philoſophy and the mathematicks, in which he was eminent.

" Such a man could not remain long unnoticed; he was therefore ſoon elected a Tutor of the College, and not long after a Fellow of the Corporation; both of which ſtations he filled with reputation to himſelf, and advantage to the ſociety, with whoſe intereſts he was ſo nearly concerned.

" While he was promoting the cauſe of literature, and preparing youths for uſefulneſs among mankind, he proſecuted the ſtudy of theology, to fit himſelf for advancing the cauſe of religion in the church of God. And after he had ſerved the College for a few years, he was called to take upon him the paſtoral care of a flock of Chriſt in Marblehead. This charge he executed, as he did all others, with care and fidelity, and exhibited in his life, a comment upon the doctrines he taught, ſhewing, by his conduct, that the religion of Jeſus had an abiding influence upon his own heart. Though he was fixed in his principles of religion, and openly defended what he thought to be the pure doctrines of the goſpel; yet he was far from being ſevere againſt thoſe who differed from him in ſome things, if at the ſame time, they appeared to be ſincere inquirers after truth. He conſidered catholicism as an excellent part of the character of a good man; and harſhly to cenſure and anathematize thoſe, who cannot think in all points of religion juſt as we do, appeared to him to diſcover, not only an arrogant diſpoſition, but alſo a great want of that amiable temper, and that extenſive charity which the goſpel of Jeſus recommends. While he was in his paſtoral charge he ſhone much as a preacher, his pulpit performances attracting a general notice; and his diſtinguiſhed figure as a publick ſpeaker, in conjunction with his many other excellent accompliſhments, pointed him out as a perſon proper to fill ſome more conſpicuous ſtation in life. Accordingly, when the Preſidentſhip of the College was vacant, in Anno 1737, he was choſen by the honourable and reverend Corporation and Overſeers, to fill that important place; for which, as it is well known to every one who has had the happineſs to be under his care, he was finely turned. Indeed he ſeemed to be by nature formed for the government to which he was elected, having an admirable talent for commanding the reſpect and reverence of thoſe committed to his charge, and ſupporting the honour of his ſtation. His publick appearances were noble, and the affairs of commencement were always conducted by him, with a dignity peculiar to himſelf. For ſtrict integrity and impartial juſtice, he was an example worthy the imitation of all who have any concern in publick life: neither family connexions, nor the ties of friendſhip could ever bias him; and in determining cenſures, he was always governed by the nature of the offence, and the good of the ſociety. But though he had the ſtricteſt regard to the preſerving of government and good order, yet he was far from taking pleaſure in puniſhing offenders, and often did it with a reluctant heart, though for the publick good he thought it neceſſary. Among his pupils he always diſtinguiſhed merit far beyond birth or fortune; and the virtuous and ingenious were always ſure (however low their circumſtances might be) of obtaining his peculiar notice. The diſtinguiſhing of ſuch, he juſtly thought, had a direct tendency to advance literature, and ſubſerve the intereſts of the College, which he was ever deſirous of promoting to the utmoſt of his power.

" In his private character, he was truly amiable. As a huſband, he diſcovered a manly tenderneſs, which could not but inſpire the ſinexecreſt regard and moſt laſting eſteem. As a father, he ſhone in the government of his family, which, though ſtrict, was ever gentle. While, by a certain dignity of behaviour, he commanded the reverence of his children, by the winning mildneſs of a friend, he conciliated their affections, and gained their greateſt confidence and tendereſt love; and their obedience, not flowing from a ſervile fear, but from more generous principles, was never by conſtraint, but always yielded with pleaſure.

" He had a moſt friendly heart, and his friendſhips were laſting: no turns of fortune, with regard to thoſe he had once accounted his friends, ever induced him to alter his conduct towards them; and by nothing could they forfeit his eſteem, but by diſcovering that they were not poſſeſſed of thoſe virtues for which he had taken them into his friendſhip.

" He had ſuch an honeſty of mind as is ſeldom found. Whenever he paſſed any encomiums, they were not the words of empty adulation, but the real dictates of a ſincere heart. When he told any of their faults (which he never declined, when he thought it would anſwer any valuable purpoſe) he did it with all plainneſs; but yet free from the bluntneſs of a ruſtick, he executed in ſuch a manner, that it ſeldom failed of being well received.

" He had a liberal ſoul that deviſed liberal things; and his ears were ever open to the cries of the diſtreſſed: he was always ready to acts of kindneſs, and he never dealt his favours ſparingly. Many of the ſons of Harvard can witneſs to his bounty, which has often relieved them in difficulties, and aſſiſted them in their education. When any thing for the publick good was ſet on foot, he was ever ready to help it forward to the utmoſt of his power, and when he beſtowed any thing for ſuch a purpoſe, the largeneſs of his mind was always diſcovered.

"As a man of piety he was far from being oſtentatious, but his whole behaviour was ſtrictly virtuous and exemplary; his attendance on religious exerciſes, ſteady and devotional, and his walk with God in ſecret, conſtant.—In ſhort, in whatever character we view him, he appears to have been poſſeſſed of ſo many excellencies, as cannot fail to attract the eſteem of all thoſe who regard merit.

"He retained his vigour of body and ſtrength of mind to an uncommon degree in his advanced age, and continued to perform all the duties of his function, with his uſual punctuality, till about ten months ago; when it pleaſed the ſovereign Ruler of the univerſe to viſit him with a ſevere diſorder, which ſoon reduced him to a very languid ſtate, and left no hopes of his recovery. Till about ten days before his death, he was able to walk about, but after that was entirely confined to his bed. Through his long ſickneſs he diſcovered great patience, and a reſignation to the divine will; and we doubt not, that patience had its perfect work, and that he is now gone from this world of ſickneſs and pain, to the heaven of reſt; where his labours are at an end, and his works follow him."

"The funeral was attended yeſterday in the afternoon,* by the honourable and reverend Overſeers and Corporation of the College, the honourable Houſe of Repreſentatives of the province, a great number of miniſters from various parts of the country, and by many other gentlemen of diſtinction.—The attendants upon the funeral being too numerous for the College chapel, the corps was carried to the meeting-houſe; where a Latin oration, ſuitable to the mournful occaſion, was delivered by Profeſſor Sewall, a prayer made by the Rev. Mr. Appleton, and the ſolemnity there cloſed with a funeral anthem, by the under-graduates of the College.—The corps, preceded by the tutors, librarian, reſident graduates, and under-graduates, was carried round one of the ſquares in the lower part of the town, thence to the College, and through a part of the yard, to the burying-ground, where it was depoſited.—Thus were committed to the duſt the remains of that truly excellent man—Preſident Holyoke: may thoſe who attended this ſolemnity, not content themſelves with having paid the funeral rites, but continue to adorn his memory, by following his amiable example!"

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* June 6, 1769.

When Mr. Holyoke was elected Preſident of Harvard College, the Second Church of Marblehead proceeded to the choice of another paſtor. Mr. Simon Bradſtreet, ſon of the Rev. Simon Bradſtreet,* was ordained, January 4, 1738.

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* The elder Mr. Bradſtreet was miniſter of Charleſtown; a moſt learned man, of ſtrong mind, tenacious memory, lively imagination, but ſubject to hypochondriack complaints, which made him afraid to preach in the pulpit ſome years before he died. He delivered his ſermons in the deacons' ſeat, without notes, and which were generally melancholy effuſions upon the ſtate of man and vanity of the world. He poſſeſſed ſuch a catholick ſpirit, and ſuch liberal views of the goſpel diſpenſation, that ſome of the more zealous brethren accuſed him of *Arminianiſm*; but the only evidence of this, was his fondneſs for *Tillotſon's* ſermons, and being rather a *practical* than a *doctrinal* preacher. He ſeldom or ever appeared with a coat, but always wore a plaid gown, and was ſeen with a *pipe* in his mouth. When he was introduced to Governour Burnet, who was himſelf a fine ſcholar, it was ſaid of him that here was a man who could *whiſtle Greek.* The late Judge Ruſſell was preſent, a young lad, when Lieutenant-Governour Tailor thus introduced Mr. Bradſtreet to his Excellency. Governour Burnet afterwards ſpoke of him as one of the firſt literary characters and beſt preachers he had met with in theſe American regions.

The children of Mr. Bradſtreet were very reſpectable for their good ſenſe and their good manners. Several of the third and fourth generation, now living in Charleſtown, Boſton, and other places, claim the eſteem of their acquaintance, for their good qualities as well as honourable deſcent. Mr. Bradſtreet, of Marblehead, was an excellent ſcholar; but, in the latter part of his life, owing to nervous diſorders, was leſs animated in the delivery of his ſermons, and leſs diſpoſed to mingle with mankind. There are none of his ſermons, if he ever publiſhed any, now *to be met with.*

A ſpecimen of the claſſical taſte of old Mr. Bradſtreet, is on the files of the Hiſtorical Society, a copy of which we here give to the publick. It contains a biographical ſketch of a celebrated character; and his predeceſſor at Charleſtown.

1738. The paſtor of the Firſt Church, Mr. Barnard, gave the charge on this occaſion; and he thus ſpeaks of this gentleman, in a manuſcript of his: "Mr. Bradſtreet proves a moſt worthy, pious, devout chriſtian, and faithful paſtor; aiming and labouring to bring over people to God, and Chriſt, and holineſs; has the hearty affections of his people, equal to what Mr. Holyoke had; and with whom I live in brotherly correſpondence."

In May, A. D. 1771, Mr. Iſaac Story was ſettled in the Second Church of Marblehead, in conjunction with this gentleman.

Mr. Bradſtreet died within a year after his ſettlement.—Mr. Story married the daughter of Mr. Bradſtreet; continued his relation to the church as paſtor for thirty years, and is now in another line of buſineſs. The church is vacant.

One of the firſt Epiſcopal ſocieties in Maſſachuſetts was planted in Marblehead. Their firſt miniſter was Mr. Mouſam,* who was ſucceeded by Pigot, Malcom, &c. Mr. Bours

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Sacræ & ſempiternæ Memoriæ
Revdi plurimùm et clariſſimi viri
Dom. CAROLI MORTONI,
Eccleſiæ Charleſtonienſis Paſtoris inſtructiſſimi:
Noc non Collegii Harvardini Vice Preſid. primi æque ac inſigniter in omni Literarm genere verſatid,
Viri deniq; tum in Anglia, (ubi natus fuit et maximè floruit) tum in Nov-Anglia (ubi ſenilis obiit) permultis nominibus celebrandi.
Qui vita hâc ærumnoſâ probè defunctus, April die XI. Anno D. MDCXCVIII ætatis ſuæ LXXII
Ex parte ſui Immortali ac nobiliſſimâ in Cælis triumphat: Exaltera verò, corruptibili ſcilicet, in hoc Monumento pauliſper quieſcit; expectans dum vocem audierit Filii Dei, qua revocatus a morte in Vitam verè vitalem quam glorioſus in eternum regnabit

Epitaphium

Inclyta *Mortonus* muſarum gloria quondam
Et ſacer Eterni Regis Legatus Jeſu
Poſt varios caſus, poſt funera multa ſuorum
Sic cadit in cineres reſolutus ab hoſte ſupremo,
Ut Domini Virtute ſui victrice reſurgens
Gaudeat æternis, abſorpta morte, Triumphis.

* Mr. Mouſam was either the *firſt* or *ſecond* miniſter. In the account of Marblehead, printed in the *Salem Regiſter*, the names of the preachers are Mouſam, Pigot, Malcom, Bours, &c. But the fact is, there were two

Bours was the *fifth* miniſter of this church, and his character is thus given in the manuſcripts of father Barnard: "The worthy Mr. Bours, of Rhode-Iſland, bred at our College, a man of an excellent temper, good learning, and great piety; whoſe good character gained more to the church of England, than all who had preceded him. The people

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two miſſionaries before Mr. Pigot. This gentleman, their third miniſter, was a conſiderable ſcholar, and publiſhed a pamphlet upon the obſervation of Chriſtmas, December 25th, in oppoſition to the opinion of Delaune, Whiſton, and eſpecially the Reverend John Barnard, who had provoked the controverſy by printing a ſermon againſt the prevailing ſentiment of the Epiſcopal church. The writer of this note has read Pigot's work with great pleaſure, though of a different perſuaſion.

The ſecond miniſter, whoever he might be, is deſcribed in a MS. frequently quoted in this account, very unlike *the firſt*, who was not reſpectable; but this man was both a ſcholar and a gentleman. When he firſt came over, he was ever declaiming againſt diſſenters, but afterwards grew candid towards them. Upon being aſked the reaſon, he ſaid: "Before I came to America I was filled with prejudices againſt you, as an irreligious and heatheniſh people, full of ſpleen and rancour againſt the Church of England; but when I had been among you ſome time, I found you a virtuous, religious, civilized people, and of moderate temper towards the Church, and therefore I altered my conduct." He afterwards removed to Virginia.

Mr. Malcom, the fourth miniſter, was a man of great learning, and being originally of the kirk of Scotland, retained ſome fondneſs for it. He left this church and went to Maryland: Which occaſioned their ſexton to ſay—"that their church was the healthieſt church in America, for they had never buried a miniſter, though they had had four."

Another thing may be mentioned in this note, as it ſets Biſhop Gibſon's character in a particular point of view. In the year 1727, John Checkley, Vir claro nomine in Nov. Anglia, a wit, a fine claſſical ſcholar, but more remarkable for the eccentricities of his temper and conduct than for his piety or his learning, went to England for Orders, and meant to fix at Marblehead. Mr. Barnard and Mr. Holyoke agreed to write to the Biſhop of London, and give his true character. They declared that he was a *Non-Juror*, a bitter enemy to other denominations, and that he never had received a liberal education. Mr. Newman preſented the letter to Biſhop Gibſon, and he refuſed to ordain him. And deſired Mr. Newman to acquaint the gentlemen, that he never would appoint a perſon who was "diſagreeable to the people in general; but a good man, of a catholick temper and loyal to the government." He had his eye upon Mr. Price, but *he* preferred going to Boſton. The Biſhop of London read the letter to the late Governour Shute, and inquired of him concerning the ſtate of New-England, who confirmed all which had been written.

John Checkley was afterwards ordained by the Biſhop of Exeter, and was ſent to Narraganſet.

people of the town were fond of him, and kind to him, and made him preſents as though he had been their miniſter. The laſt time he was abroad he had ſome converſation with the miniſters of the town, which manifeſted his catholick and chriſtian ſpirit. He died after a ſickneſs of a few days, and the Congregational miniſters were among his pall-bearers.”

Mr. Weeks ſucceeded him; “a virtuous, ſweet tempered, learned gentleman.”

For ſeveral years after the revolution, the church was deſtitute. Mr. Thomas Oliver was then invited to ſettle with them, who removed to Providence, and was ſucceeded by Mr. William Harris, the preceptor of the academy. Both theſe gentlemen were educated at Harvard College. Mr. Harris is now a reſpectable miniſter in the ſtate of New-York.

He was ſucceeded in the church in Marblehead, by Mr. James Bowers, who was graduated at Cambridge, A. D. 1794; and when the Epiſcopal convention met in Boſton, May 25th, of the preſent year, was ordained in *Trinity Church*, by the hands of the Rev. Biſhop Baſs: the aſſiſtant miniſter of the church, the Rev. John Gardiner, preached upon the occaſion.

Beſide the places for publick worſhip already mentioned, a number of the inhabitants of Marblehead erected a meeting-houſe, in 1789, for thoſe “whoſe *opinions* differed from the *opinions* of their neighbours.”

In the year 1800, a meeting-houſe was built for the *Methodiſts.*

The people of various denominations live together in harmony. May they have no other emulations but to provoke unto love and good works!

Boſton, December 10*th*, 1802.

P. S.—In compiling the above, a free uſe has been made of newſpapers, ſermons, and a large manuſcript, written by the late venerable Barnard. But we are greatly indebted to the *Topographical Account*, publiſhed in the Salem Regiſter the laſt year, written by Iſaac Mansfield, Eſq. and have alſo received many documents from the papers and manuſcripts, which, by the kindneſs of that gentleman, have been handed to the Society.

BILL OF MORTALITY OF THE TOWN OF MIDDLEBOROUGH, FROM THE YEAR 1779 TO 1801.

Middleborough, 7th March, 1802.

REV. SIR,

AFTER complimenting you with my ſincere regards, &c. agreeably to my promiſe to you, I hereby inform, that the deaths in the firſt precinct in Middleborough (which contains about fourteen or fifteen hundred perſons) ſince the beginning of the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, are as followeth, viz.

Date.	Over 90.	Between 70 & 90.	Between 50 & 70.	Between 20 & 50.	Under 20.
1779	1	3	3	3	4
1780		1	4	3	5
1781	1	5	9	3	9
1782	1	6	4	1	19
1783		4	4	2	6
1784	1	5	3		19
1785	1	6	6	6	10
1786		5	3	4	10
1787		7	3	2	11
1788	1	3	6	3	9
1789	1	3	6	5	10
1790	1	4	1	5	11
1791		7	1	4	11
1792	2	1	3	4	9
1793	1	5		2	7
1794	2	7	3	4	1
1795	1	8	3	1	7
1796		5	2	5	10
1797		3	1	3	9
1798	1	2	4	3	6
1799	2	2	3	4	4
1800		5	6	12	8
1801	3	3	5	4	4

Which is ſubmitted for the benefit of the Hiſtorical Society, from your's in ſincerity,

ISAAC THOMPSON.

Rev. JOHN ELIOT, D. D.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF MARSTON WATSON, ESQ. MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MR. WATSON was a deſcendant from one of the branches of an ancient and reſpectable family, in the town of Plymouth. He was born, May 25th, 1756. After receiving an excellent ſchool education, and being qualified for admiſſion into the univerſity, he was, at the age of fourteen, placed an apprentice with Colonel Jeremiah Lee, then an eminent merchant at Marblehead. Upon the death of Colonel Lee, in 1775, Mr. Watſon reſumed his claſſick ſtudies, with an intention of entering College, in advance, and had actually made arrangements, at Cambridge, for that purpoſe ; but the revolutionary war having then commenced, and Colonel Glover offering him a lieutenancy in his own regiment, Mr. Watſon, reluctantly abandoning his literary purſuits, accepted the commiſſion, and in the month of December, 1776, was actively engaged in the battles of *Trenton* and *Princeton*, in which Glover's regiment bore a diſtinguiſhed ſhare. He was particularly patronized by General Charles Lee, and acted as his temporary *aid-de-camp*. General Lee had made arrangements for his permanent eſtabliſhment in that office, and he ſerved in that capacity at the battle of Monmouth. But upon the ſuſpenſion of General Lee, his hopes of immediate promotion being checked, he relinquiſhed the army and engaged in commerce. His activity and induſtry were proſpered. He married in 1779, and eſtabliſhed himſelf at Marblehead. In 1790, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Marblehead regiment,and in about three years afterwards, was Lieutenant-Colonel commandant. In 1794, when eighty thouſand of the militia of the United States were proviſionally detached, under the apprehenſions of a rupture with Great-Britain, Colonel Watſon was ſelected to command a regiment detached from the diviſion to which he belonged.

In the year 1792, he repreſented the town of Marblehead in the General Court.

In May, 1797, he removed from Marblehead to Boſton, where his extenſive commercial concerns could be more conveniently and advantageouſly conducted.

In this ſituation, he greatly extended his buſineſs and connexions, and, in the midſt of a community where the able and intelligent merchant is ſure to be duly eſtimated, he was highly reſpected. His reſidence in the town was conſidered as a publick benefit, and the proſperity which attended his commercial purſuits was regarded with complacence, as the juſt reward of ſtrict integrity,* unblemiſhed honour, and well directed exertion. To great induſtry and application to buſineſs, he united the virtues which adorn and elevate the human character. He was hoſpitable, beneficent, publick ſpirited, friendly, and ſincere. In his domeſtick relations the deep ſenſibilities of his afflicted family and friends, afford affecting evidence of his tenderneſs and worth.

The buſy engagements of active life, never extinguiſhed that attachment to letters, to which he was prompted by the native bent of his mind and by early education. All the leiſure he could command, was devoted to mental improvement and attentions to the education of a numerous family. The Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society, from a conviction of his literary attainments, and his regard to the objects of their inſtitution, elected him a member of their Society, April 29th, 1800.

He died Auguſt 7th, 1800, after a ſhort illneſs, in the 45th year of his age. *d. j. d.*

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* An honourable inſtance of this gentleman's ſcrupulous regard to juſtice deſerves to be recorded. About ſeven years before his removal to *Boſton,* a deranged ſtate of his affairs, the effect of mere misfortune, rendered it neceſſary for him to ſeek a compoſition with his creditors, who gave him a diſcharge, receiving only a portion of their demands. In a few years afterwards, when his renewed exertions were bleſſed with ſucceſs, his firſt care was to pay thoſe creditors in full, though they had no legal demand againſt him.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THOMAS BRATTLE, ESQUIRE, MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THOMAS BRATTLE, Eſquire, was born at Cambridge, February 11th, 1742. He was the ſon of the Honourable William Brattle, Eſquire, and grandſon of the Reverend William Brattle,* who was an eminent and highly reſpected miniſter in that town. His mother was the daughter of GURDON SALTONSTALL, Eſquire, who was, in early life, miniſter of New-London, in Connecticut, and afterwards, for many years, Governour of that Colony.

Mr. Brattle received his education at Harvard College, the honours of which were conferred in 1760 and 1763. He afterwards received the degree of A. M. at Yale and Naſſau.

The mercantile life was the object of his early choice; in which line he was employed ſeveral years, in Boſton.

In 1775, war commencing, and commercial buſineſs being ſuſpended, he executed a deſign, which he had, for years, contemplated. He went to England, carrying with him an ample teſtimonial of his patriotiſm, from the Committee of Inſpection and Correſpondence in Boſton. After ſpending a conſiderable time in viſiting the ſeveral parts of Great-Britain, he made a tour through Holland and the Netherlands into France. Americans, and the friends of his country, were his friends. Accordingly, he was honourably noticed by the firſt diplomatick characters, as well as other gentlemen of diſtinction. Having gratified his curioſity, in viewing and examining the various objects in thoſe countries, demanding the attention of the inquiſitive, he returned from Paris to London.

Finding, on his arrival, many of his countrymen confined in priſons, he generouſly exerted himſelf to procure them relief, and contribute to their comfort. Theſe benevolent exertions not only attracted the notice, and conciliated the affections, of ſimilar characters in England;

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* See his character, in the Collections of the Hiſtorical Society, for the year 1800, p. 55.

but pleaded effectually againſt ſome ſuſpicions of his patriotiſm, which had been excited during his abſence, and which he found himſelf obliged to combat after his return to his native country. For though poſſeſſed of a diſpoſition calculated to render him happy as a citizen of the world, and though enjoyment equalled expectation, his attachment to his native land was not diminiſhed. He returned in 1779. Landing at Rhode-Iſland, and reſiding there while it was a ſtation for a large body of French troops, he rendered them ſuch ſignal ſervices, that they were announced to the royal ear. The French king's ſentiments of their importance, and of the benevolence of their author, were, by his order, conveyed, in a very polite letter from his miniſter in the United States, to Mr. Brattle.

In 1784, the obſtacles to his return into his native ſtate, being ſurmounted, he took poſſeſſion of his patrimony. This he aſſiduouſly improved and embelliſhed; and, by his urbanity and hoſpitality, rendered a pleaſing reſort both of friends and ſtrangers. Horticulture was his favourite purſuit. He ſuperintended all his plans for amelioration. Theſe were not confined to his own property, but extended to the roads, walks, publick buildings, and conveniences in his vicinity. His laſt labour of this kind was employed in directing and ſuperintending the conſtruction of a bathing place in Charles river—erected eſpecially with a view to preſerve the lives of the ſtudents of the Univerſity, to a number of whom, at different periods, that river had proved fatal.

Mr. Brattle's taſte and judgment were frequently conſulted, and their effects became ſubjects of the warmeſt approbation. His humanity and charity gave employment to the labourer; cordials to the ſick; and relief to the diſtreſſed. He was honoured as a man of ſcience, as well as humanity, by being elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Hiſtorical, the Agricultural, and the Humane Societies.

For ſeveral years before his death, his health viſibly declined. In December, 1800, an incipient mortification made its appearance in one of his feet, which baffled the art of the beſt phyſicians. He foreſaw, and met with the utmoſt calmneſs, his approaching diſſolution. On the 7th of February following, he expired; and on the 11th his remains were reſpectfully entombed.

The following ſummary character, drawn by a gentleman,* who had long been in habits of intimacy with Mr. Brattle, was publiſhed in the Columbian Centinel of February 11th, 1801.

" Major Brattle was one of thoſe men, who prudently chooſe the middle way of life. His family connexion, which is of ancient reſpectability, and his fortune, which was ample, afforded him the advantage of deſcribing his own ſphere of life. A correct judgment, founded in a good natural underſtanding, and a liberal education led him to avoid extending it beyond what he could fill with propriety. This cautious mode of conduct aſſured to him the approbation of thoſe, who knew him. Without vainly attempting things beyond his reach, he ſtudied to improve the talents committed to his charge, and, by a perfect acquaintance with them, rendered himſelf peculiarly uſeful to ſociety and agreeable to his friends. His reading and travel enabled him to place a juſt eſtimate on the world.

" Major Brattle exerciſed a deep reverence to the principles of government, and was a cheerful ſubject of the laws. He reſpected men of ſcience as the richeſt ornament of their country. If he had ambition, it was to excel in acts of hoſpitality, benevolence, and charity.

" The dazzling ſplendour of heroes, and the achievements of political intrigue, paſſed unnoticed before him; but the character of the man of benevolence filled his heart with emotions of ſympathy.

" When he was in Europe, in the time of the late war, his aſſiduous liberality, in relieving the diſtreſſes of his countrymen, who were priſoners, drew upon him the attention of many good men. As a compliment to his feelings, exhibited on that occaſion, a fine piece of painting was preſented to him, the picture of the " Man of Roſs," celebrated by Mr. Pope,

> " Behold the market-place with poor o'erſpread,
> The Man of Roſs ſupplies the daily bread."

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* Hon. James Sullivan, Eſq.

The lineaments of charity on that face were ever contemplated by the Major with peculiar delight. He loved agriculture and gardening, becauſe in thoſe he rendered himſelf uſeful to his country. His table was filled with the beſt viands, and his ſide-board with the choiceſt wines—This was a luxury to him, becauſe his friends enjoyed it :—he was moderate, and latterly abſtemious himſelf. In his death, the ſick, the poor, and the diſtreſſed, have loſt a liberal benefactor ; politeneſs an ornament ; and philanthropy one of its moſt diſcreet and generous ſupporters. Major Brattle's life, as to morals, was irreproachable ; he revered the religion of the bible, and frequently honoured his character by appealing to its precepts as the rule of his religion." *g. m.*

NOTICE OF EZEKIEL PRICE, ESQUIRE, MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BEFORE the revolution Mr. Price was the confidential ſecretary of ſeveral of the governours of the province. Soon after independence was declared, he was appointed clerk of the courts of common pleas and ſeſſions for the county of Suffolk ; in which ſervices, as well as thoſe of notary publick and magiſtrate, he remained twenty years. He was alſo, for a long time, chairman of the board of ſelectmen for the town of Boſton. And in theſe, and many other ſtations, he acted his part well in ſociety ; until that decay, which ſo often attends the age of threeſcore years and ten, made it neceſſary for him to retire to his family. In private life he was amiable, as in publick he was uſeful. April 30th, 1793, he was elected a member of the Hiſtorical Society, to which he was a liberal benefactor. He died July 15th, 1802, aged ſeventy-four years. *j. t. d.*

CHARACTER

CHARACTER OF THE HON. GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT, ESQ. JUDGE OF PROBATE IN THE COUNTY OF SUFFOLK, AND JUDGE OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT IN BOSTON: EXTRACTED FROM AN ELOGY DELIVERED A FEW DAYS AFTER HIS DEATH.

AS the virtues of George Richards Minot were the fruits of early cultivation, in delineating his character, it is neceſſary to begin with the period of infancy. The youngeſt child of reſpectable parents, and deſcended from a line of honourable anceſtors*, he was born under auſpicious circumſtances†. That peculiar tenderneſs, with which the youngeſt child is treated in affectionate families‡, he was ſo happy as to experience. From the beginning he was an object, who employed the care and engaged the hearts of his numerous relatives. On a mind naturally good kindneſs has the beſt effects. Though it is confeſſed that many infants have been injured by improper indulgence, yet others have been ruined by vexations and undue ſeverity. The love, which he received from all who ſurrounded him, early moulded his heart to that benevolence, which formed ſo diſtinguiſhing a part of his character during every period of his life.

In the ninth year of his age§ he was admitted into the South Latin ſchool in Boſton, at that time under the ſuperintendance of Mr. Lovell, a gentleman of claſſical knowledge and exquiſite taſte. As I was always convinced that this eminent inſtructer had a large ſhare in forming the character of my friend, I enjoy a melancholy ſatisfaction in mentioning his name, and in paying the tribute of grateful reſpect to his memory.

In this ſeminary young Minot was ſoon diſtinguiſhed for his diligence in ſtudy, his kindneſs to his ſchool fellows, and his reſpect to the maſters. There were contracted his earlieſt friendſhips, which by him were not forgotten till the laſt moment of his life. Long before his literary courſe was completed, he was known to be the favourite pupil of his inſtructer, though no boy felt any envy on that account, convinced of his ſuperiour claims to diſtinction.

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* See Note I. at the end of this article.

† Born in Boſton Dec. 22d. 1758, the youngeſt of ten children.

‡ See Note II.

§ July, 1767.

This notice naturally led him to be watchful in his conduct, that he might not loſe that eſteem, which he had ſo happily obtained. Diſcretion marked his whole deportment; and even at that age there was a decorum, and I may almoſt ſay, a dignity, in his behaviour, which was uncommon for his years.

When the important moment approached, in which he was to leave ſchool, he was not only called upon by his maſter to compoſe his own oration, a taſk which, I believe, is expected ſeldom or never to be executed by a boy himſelf, and which he actually performed, but he was alſo enjoined to aſſiſt more than one of his claſſmates in the ſame work.

Theſe circumſtances, which I dwell on, becauſe I ſuppoſe that they are not now generally known, contributed to form his character; and there were alſo ſeveral other cauſes, which conduced to the ſame end. Among theſe might be particularly mentioned the good fortune of poſſeſſing a father of a liberal education, who attended in part to his inſtruction at home; and who allowing no more moments for recreation, than thoſe which were abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of his health, kept him conſtantly employed the reſt of his time either in ſtudy or buſineſs;—the mild and affectionate demeanour of an excellent mother, who cultivated with aſſiduity his amiable heart:—but above all, the example of an elder brother, Francis Minot, a gentleman of great purity and elevation of ſentiment. This model of every thing which was worthy was conſtantly before his eyes; and his higheſt ambition was to copy into his own character thoſe traits, which rendered his brother the object of the veneration and love of all who knew him. Greatly would it have contributed to his peace of mind, if he had not been deprived of this brother at an early age*. But death had not power to deſtroy the effect of the example; for whilſt with fondneſs he cheriſhed the remembrance of departed virtue, its image was conſtantly preſent to his heart, to inſpire him with fortitude amidſt temptation.

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* Francis Minot died Dec. 1774, aged 28.

By theſe and other cauſes, the character of young Minot was in a great meaſure eſtabliſhed even before he left ſchool. He had already acquired the habits of diligence and ſobriety, of benevolence to his equals, and reſpect to his ſuperiours, of the love of learning, of ſelf command, and of magnanimity of ſentiment. The principal enemy, which he had to contend with, was a temper by nature iraſcible. This part of his mental conſtitution was known to few of his friends; perhaps to none of them, except from his own confeſſion; for before this period the enemy was ſubdued; and the ardour, which was ſtill left in his mind, ſerved only to give warmth to his heart and fire to his genius.

The youth of Mr. Minot commenced with his admiſſion into college*; and his conduct there was a continuation of the ſame virtues, which he had practiſed at ſchool. The love of learning, graceful modeſty, amiable manners, and goodneſs of heart ſtill diſtinguiſhed him. He now began to cultivate thoſe branches of literature, which were his favourite purſuits during the reſt of his life; hiſtory and belles lettres. To theſe objects he devoted a great portion of his time, reading with uncommon care and diligence the beſt authors that he could procure. By this ſtudy his mind was ſtored with hiſtorical facts, and his taſte and ſtyle were gradually formed.—The two authors, who were his moſt admired models, were the celebrated Robertſon, and Burke in the hiſtorical part of the Annual Regiſter.

But from no ſource whatever did he derive more advantage in the cultivation of his talents, than from the converſation of ſeveral young men, at that time members of the Univerſity, who even then gave preſages of future eminence, and now in manhood occupy ſome of the moſt important ſtations in ſociety. Theſe generous youths courted his acquaintance; and ſeveral of them formed with him thoſe firm bonds of friendſhip, which death itſelf has not power to looſen.

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* At Cambridge, July, 1774.

Thus happy in the affection of his equals, he was not leſs eſteemed by the governours of the univerſity. The college was at that time favoured with ſeveral inſtructers, who were beloved by the ſtudents in general. Of one of them, the enlightened Wadſworth, I may ſpeak without reſerve. He was a man of eminent talents, of clear conceptions, a perſpicacious reaſoner, fluent in ſpeech, and above all, mild in the exerciſe of authority. In the midſt of his uſefulneſs he was ſnatched from the univerſity by a fatal diſeaſe*. The boſoms of the ſtudents were filled with conſternation. "What honours ſhall we pay to the memory of ſo beloved a tutor?" They addreſs the governours of the college:—"Do not, by appointing one of your own body, deprive us of the melancholy pleaſure of pronouncing his panegyrick. Let one of our number be the organ of the reſt, and ſpeak the grateful ſentiments of our hearts." The requeſt was granted; and Mr. Minot was ſelected to deliver the funeral oration. With what pathos and eloquence he performed the duty, his contemporaries well remember. They never can forget his impaſſioned tones, the deep ſorrow which clouded his own brow, and the grief which filled the breaſts of all his hearers. This oration eſtabliſhed his reputation; and henceforward his claſſmates were eager to confer on him every honour, which it was in their power to beſtow.

Upon leaving college†, he entered on the ſtudy of the law under a gentleman‡, for whom he had a high eſteem and friendſhip, which were warmly returned. In this office of this reſpected maſter he enjoyed a peculiar advantage, the nature of which I cannot with delicacy particularly point out, though it will be underſtood by many of my auditors. I will only ſay in a word, that his own genius caught fire from the flame, which burned ſo intenſely in the imagination of his friend; and that he then predicted the ſplendid reputation, which this friend would in future acquire.

His legal ſtudies were completed not long after the time, in which he took his ſecond degree. The univerſity, which had been depreſſed by war, was beginning to revive; and publick commencements, which had been diſcontinued during ſeveral years, were again introduced. On this occaſion he was appointed[*] to deliver the valedictory oration; a part which is uſually aſſigned to the beſt ſcholars, to ſcholars, who are not only eloquent, but learned. The brilliancy of his diction in this performance, his ſpeaking eye, the dignity of his air, and his graceful geſtures, are ſtill impreſſed on the memories of thoſe who were preſent.

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* See note III.

† July, 1778.

‡ Hon. William Tudor, treaſurer of the Hiſtorical Society.

He was now leaving the period of youth, and entering on that of manhood; and he was introduced on this third ſtage of life with the reputation of a correct and elegant ſcholar, a poliſhed gentleman, a man of purity, benevolence, and religion. The moſt important part of his exiſtence had paſſed, in which he had eſtabliſhed his character, fixed his principles, and formed his habits. What for the future principally remained for him, was to gather the fruits of his labours; to cultivate the flowers of claſſical literature, which he had with ſuch aſſiduity and ſucceſs planted in his mind; to benefit his fellow citizens by his exertions; and to enjoy the ſociety of thoſe friends, whoſe hearts he had gained by his talents and virtues.

The path, which was obviouſly pointed out to him, when he entered on the theatre of the world, was to practiſe in that uſeful and liberal profeſſion, the rudiments of which he had ſpent ſeveral years in ſtudying. But a circumſtance, which may be regarded as beneficial to the publick, and which eventually proved fortunate to himſelf, prevented him from devoting to it his whole attention. The new conſtitution of Maſſachuſetts had juſt begun its operation; and there was wanted for the houſe of repreſentatives a clerk, who would do honour to a place, which under the provincial government had frequently been occupied by men of celebrity and talents. He was appointed to the office[†]; and with his accuſtomed prudence accepted it thankfully. With what propriety, fidelity, and impartiality, he diſcharged the obligations which he had taken on him, is well known to all the members of the legiſlature, particularly to the able ſpeakers, who preſided in the houſe during that period. The records were kept with remarkable care; and through the obliging aſſiſtance afforded by him to ſeveral worthy gentlemen, who, from the want of education, were not able to expreſs their ideas in proper terms, a preciſion and neatneſs marked many of the votes and reſolves, in which his accurate pen could be eaſily traced. I mention this without heſitation, becauſe it has been often gratefully acknowledged by thoſe who received his aid.

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[*] July, 1781.

[†] In the year 1781.

Being clerk of the repreſentatives at the time, when the cauſes which finally produced the inſurrection were operating, he had an opportunity of being well acquainted with the debates and proceedings of the houſe, which were uncommonly intereſting to the publick. Of theſe tranſactions he undertook to write a ſketch, which was communicated through the channel of the Boſton Magazine*, and continued as long as that miſcellany was kept alive. In this production, which was univerſally applauded for its correctneſs and impartiality, he is generally ſuppoſed to have happily imitated the ſtyle, which he ſo much admired.

At length, when the inſurrection had diſtracted the heads and embittered the hearts of a portion of the people; and had been ſucceſsfully quelled by the patriotiſm and fortitude of a majority of the citizens, he planned and executed a work of ſtill greater importance: a faithful hiſtory of the whole tranſaction. By this compoſition, which was equally praiſed for its truth, moderation, lucid order, and elegance of language, he became entitled to a high rank among the American authors†.

The inſurrection of Maſſachuſetts was one of the cauſes, which led to the formation of the conſtitution of the United States. Of the convention, which was choſen to conſider it in this commonwealth, he was appointed the ſecretary. In this ſituation he gained many new friends, and his character and talents were further made known to the publick.

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* For 1784 and 1785.

† See Note IV.

When therefore, in the courſe of years, the office of judge of probate for the county of Suffolk became vacant, all eyes were fixed on him as the proper perſon to ſucceed to that important ſtation; and to the univerſal joy of his fellow citizens, he was nominated by the governour and approved by the council*. Faithful and impartial, upright, patient, and humane, Judge Minot had now gained the place for which his Maker had formed him.

The other publick offices conferred on him are ſo recent in the remembrance of thoſe who hear me, that they need not be particularly mentioned. Should I attempt to deſcribe the manner in which he ſuſtained them, I ſhould only repeat the encomiums which have already been beſtowed on the dignity of his deportment, his wiſdom, his integrity, and philanthropy†.

Amidſt his numerous publick avocations, he found time to ſearch into the archives of his country, and to write a hiſtory of Maſſachuſetts, beginning at the period where Hutchinſon leaves it‡. Of this intereſting work one volume has already been preſented to the world; and a ſecond volume would have been completed, if the health and life of the author had been ſpared one month longer. It is hoped, that, from want of encouragement of the patrons of literature, the part which he had finiſhed will not be loſt to the publick.

Whilſt he thus devoted his time and talents to the ſervice of his fellow citizens, their grateful approbation attended his ſteps. Literary inſtitutions imparted to him the honours of their fellowſhip‖; philanthropick incorporations beſtowed on him the marks of their eſteem. Of the Charitable Fire Society he was elected the preſident; and from the commencement of that uſeful aſſociation, he was one of the moſt active ſprings, which put in motion its benevolent operations. Its reſpected members with warm affection lament his death; fondly do they cheriſh the remembrance of the mild dignity, with which he preſided in their meetings ; and deeply impreſſed on their hearts are the precepts of benevolence, which with ſo much pathos and eloquence he taught them in his admired Addreſs*.

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* Jan. 1792.

† See two characters of Judge Minot, publiſhed in the Boſton newſpapers ſoon after his deceaſe; one by his maſter, Judge Tudor; the other by his young friend and pupil, Mr. Charles P. Sumner.

‡ See Note V.

‖ See Note VI.

His fellow citizens in general, on more than one occaſion, teſtified the confidence which they felt in his abilities and moderation. He was the man, on whom the eyes of all parties were fixed, to expreſs that grief, with which the hearts of all parties were pierced, by the death of the beloved Waſhington†. As the virtuous, however differing in rank and external acts, belong to the ſame family, and a kindred likeneſs may be traced in the features of their minds, in delineating the character of the firſt of men, he could not avoid deſcribing in part his own correct example. The reſemblance is ſo ſtriking, that it has been perceived by many.

But fame and publick confidence were not the only rewards of his merit. Through the liberal and grateful aid of the government and his fellow citizens, proſperity ſmiled on him. This enlarged his power of doing good and of communicating pleaſure. His friends were welcomed with ardour to his hoſpitable board ; and his bounty flowed in copious ſtreams on thoſe who aſked or needed his aſſiſtance.

Such was the life, ſuch the honours, and ſuch the proſperity of Judge Minot. You love the man, who excelled in ſo many virtues ; and you rejoice in the favours with which heaven viſited his manſion. Will you permit me to make him ſtill farther known to you ; and to delineate parts of his character, which have not already been painted ? It is not my intention to exhauſt the ſubject : others of his friends are eager to praiſe him ; and I ought to leave untouched topicks of encomium, on which they can enlarge‡. I ſhall ſuppreſs therefore the greateſt part of the thoughts, which crowd on my mind.

The underſtanding of Judge Minot poſſeſſed an aſtoniſhing variety. Thoſe who were acquainted with him the longeſt can ſay, that there was always a novelty in his converſation, either as to ſubſtance or form. This aroſe from his great induſtry and inquiſitiveneſs; in conſequence of which he was always learning. When viſited by his friends, he appeared to expreſs his beſt ideas in his beſt manner. But before there was an opportunity of ſeeing him again, he had obtained the knowledge of a new fact, or had acquired a new grace of expreſſion. This, in addition to the ſprightly ſallies which frequently burſt from his lips, the benignity, the gentle radiance, the mind and character, which ſhone in his face, rendered him a moſt intereſting and pleaſant companion.

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* Delivered before the Society May 29th. 1795.

† See Note VII.

‡ See Note XII.

In his company every one felt himſelf at perfect eaſe; and fancied himſelf wiſer, not only from what he learned at the moment, but alſo from the ſtores of information treaſured up in his own mind, and of the poſſeſſion of which he was before hardly conſcious. For our friend had the happy talent of uncovering the knowledge which was veiled by diffidence, and of drawing out in appropriate language the conceptions of thoſe, who, from want of uſe, had not learned the art, either of ſpeaking, or of ſpeaking in proper terms. This rendered him the delight of ingenuous young men, who oftentimes have this defect, and on that account miſs the reputation, to which they are entitled by their ſcience and talents.

In judging of his own powers, his opinion was guided by modeſty*; but he poſſeſſed none of that baſhfulneſs, which quenches emulation, and annihilates exertion. He doubted whether he was capable of ſome things, for which his friends thought him well qualified; but he yielded to their perſuaſions, and made the attempt; and he generally ſucceeded better than his fears had anticipated†. Without ſitting ſtill and idly wiſhing for fame, he entered the career of glory, and ran for the prize, aſſured that if he miſſed it, he at leaſt deſerved applauſe for his well directed labours.

In judging of the characters and abilities of others he was eminently candid. His opinion was, that few men are ſo vitious, as not to poſſeſs ſome good quality; or ſo ignorant, as not to have acquired ſome valuable branch of ſcience. For theſe he praiſed them; but never for talents and virtues to which they had no title. He was candid; but abhorrent to his feelings was that counterfeit candour, which applauds equally the ſaint and the ſinner: he has often been heard to ſpeak with pointed indignation againſt the artful and diſhoneſt, particularly againſt falſe pariots and political impoſtors.

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* See Note VIII.

† See Note VII.

As a politician, his moderation is well known, and has often been the ſubject of encomium. He wiſhed well to both the parties into which the ſtate is divided: both parties would have been happy to have called him their own*: but as he never concealed or diſguiſed his ſentiments, it is certain that he belonged to one only. Without denominating it by the excluſive and honourable title of *federal*, it will be accurately deſcribed by ſaying, that it was the party of which the reſpected Bowdoin was the head; which placed in the chair of government the much lamented Sumner; and which approved the adminiſtration of the late preſident of the United States. I aſcribe no merit to him for his opinions; but for his firmneſs and independence of ſpirit, he deſerved the higheſt applauſe.

He was as candid, zealous, and honeſt in his religious as in his political opinions. On all proper occaſions he openly declared what he believed; but the truth is, that he laid little ſtreſs on the dogmas of any particular ſect†, paying more attention to the duties than the ſpeculations of chriſtians. Humble ‡ and devout, he loved God, and truſted entirely to his mercy for ſalvation. He complied with all the rites and ordinances of chriſtianity; and though he was perſuaded that theſe practices are not the moſt eſſential parts of religion; yet he felt it to be his duty publickly to manifeſt before all who obſerved his conduct, that he was not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt.

In private and domeſtick life his conduct was exhibited to great advantage. At an early age he was united to the woman whom he loved; and he loved her as long as conſciouſneſs remained. Satisfied with the warmth of her affection, and with the reſpect and tenderneſs of his own and his adopted children, his happieſt hours were paſſed in the boſom of his family. There was he often ſeen, by the friends who were admitted to join the harmonious circle, ſmiling with complacence on all around him, and imparting delight to every breaſt.

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* See Note IX.

† See Note X.

‡ See Note XI.

Should I more particularly deſcribe theſe endearing ſcenes, I ſhould only aggravate that ſorrow, which it is my deſire to ſoften. For never more will his wife, his children*, his venerable parent†, his fond brothers, his diſconſolate nephew, his grateful nieces, behold his benign face; never more will they liſten to his voice of love: "cold he now lies in the grave below"‡; his warm heart has ceaſed to beat§; and all their joys are remembered as a dream. *r. s.*

NOTES.

Note I.

The firſt anceſtor of Judge Minot, who came to New England, was George Minot, ſon to Thomas Minot Eſquire, of Saffron Walden in Eſſex. He was one of the firſt ſettlers of Dorcheſter, and ruling elder of the church thirty years. He died Dec. 24th. 1671, in the 78th. year of his age, "much lamented by a town, whoſe weal he ſought and liberties defended."

His father, Stephen Minot, great great grandſon of George Minot, was a gentleman of education, liberal principles, and exemplary character. He died in Boſton, Jan. 14th. 1787, aged 75 years.

His mother, Sarah, only daughter of Jonas Clarke Eſquire of Boſton, died, "happy in the reflection of an amiable and virtuous life," Jan. 10th. 1783, in the 64th. year of her age.

His intermediate anceſtors were gentlemen of reſpectable characters.

Note

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* Judge Minot left two children, a ſon and a daughter.

† Mrs. Speakman, the mother of Mrs. Minot.

‡ Chatterton.

§ Judge Minot died Jan. 2d. 1802, and was buried the 6th.

Note II.

The Indians of New England had, to expreſs this relation, an appropriate word, which in the dialect of the Nauſet Indians was *tauſhents*. It has been adopted by the deſcendants of the Engliſh in many parts of the Old Colony of Plymouth, and is applied as a term of endearment to the youngeſt child.

Note III.

In the preſent year, 1802, a monument has been erected to the memory of Mr. Wadſworth by a few contemporary friends, who loved and honoured his character, and ſeveral pupils, who enjoyed at the univerſity the benefit of his inſtructions. On this monument is the following inſcription.

Huic tumulo mandantur exuviæ
Johannis Wadsworth A. M.
Duxburgiæ nati,
Collegii Harvardini Alumni,
Cujus
Septem per annos
Fidelitèr, utiliſſimèque
Tutoris officium præſtitit;
Et modo aptiſſimo, facillimo, gratiſſimoque,
Optimis præceptis ac inſtitutis
Juvenum animos imbuit,
Moreſque ipſorum amicè ac ſedulò curavit.
Hujus temporis tres per annos et ultrà
Senatus Academici Socii munera peritè explevit.
Ingenio ſagaci et acutiſſimo
Literis ſcientiiſque penitùs inſtructo,
Etiam facilitate mira ſententias impertiendi
Omnium obſervantiam in ſeſe attraxit.
Amicitia ingenua atque conſtanti,
Et conſuetudinis ſuavitate facetiiſque,
Amor ac deliciæ fuit amicorum.
Inter alias virtutes,
Pietas erga Parentes et affectio Fraterna
Præcipuè fuerunt inſignes.
Viri tam boni ac utilis, omnibuſque cari,
In ætatem ſenectam ſpes vitam produxerat.

Ah ſpes inanis !
Variolis (illo generis humani flagello) correptus,
Animam efflavit
Die Julii 12mo Anno Salutis MDCCLXXVII
Ætatiſque ſuæ XXXVII.

Note IV.

Since the elogy was delivered, the author has had an opportunity of peruſing Judge Minot's manuſcripts. Among others he finds a private journal, which was begun, diſcontinued, and reſumed. In theſe notes nearly of the whole of it will be given. The following extract relates to the Hiſtory of the Inſurrections.

" The opinions reſpecting my Hiſtory of the Inſurrections have been very favourable. If any thing could leſſen the pleaſure ariſing from this circumſtance, it is the ſurpriſe of many judicious perſons at my performing it ſo well. " It is well done, as I expected it would be," is a much more flattering approbation, than, " I am aſtoniſhed—who could have thought that *he* could have done it ſo well ?" We do not love to think that we once ſtood in an inferiour light, however elevated we may now be, in the opinion of our friends.

" Mr. —— thinks I have extricated myſelf very well from the danger of incurring the reſentment of the jarring adminiſtrations, which any improper compariſon between them, or deciſive eulogium of either, would have inevitably drawn upon me. He thinks that there are ſecrets reſpecting the mode, in which the laſt orders to General Lincoln were procured from the Council, which ought to be told at a future day : but Governour Bowdoin knows nothing of theſe.

" I ſhowed the Hiſtory to the principal actors in the ſuppreſſion of the inſurrections, in order that they might object to any thing relative to their conduct, before it appeared in print. On this occaſion I obſerved to General Lincoln, that I ought to inſert the name of ——, which at that time was not introduced, at ſome convenient place, as well as the name of Governour Bowdoin, which was ſubſcribed to his orders. The General replied, " Yes" ; and taking up the manuſcript, " You may inſert it here, or here, or, in ſhort, any where, juſt as they mark down *ſnow* in an almanack."

"I ſent a copy of the Hiſtory to General Waſhington with the following letter,

"Sir,

Permit me to offer for your peruſal a copy of the Hiſtory of the late Inſurrections in Maſſachuſetts. The ſhare, which you had in the great and glorious events of America, muſt intereſt your feelings in all ſubſequent tranſactions; and I hope that this little narrative will not be unacceptable to you, as a continuance of information upon the important ſubject of domeſtick hiſtory.

"The difficulty of publiſhing facts on the ſpot where they happen, and under the view of the actors, will readily occur, and muſt be my apology with you, in reading the book. If this circumſtance, however, has had influence in checking the remarks of the writer, I hope it has had none in the relating of the events, which is the part wherein the publick are moſt concerned.

"General Lincoln has kindly offered to introduce my production to your notice; and my confidence in the goodneſs of your character has led me to anticipate a favourable reception to an effort, which was dictated by a love of truth, and a wiſh to preſerve the reputation of my country.

"With the higheſt reſpect, I am, Sir, &c.

Boſton, 7. Aug. 1788.

"This letter was delivered with the book to General Lincoln, who forwarded it with a letter, which I did not ſee; and I received the following anſwer.

"Mount Vernon, Aug. 28. 1788.

"Sir,

Your favour of the 7th. of this month has been duly received; and I loſe no time before I acknowledge the obligations under which you have placed me, by offering a copy of your Hiſtory as a preſent. Aſide of the honourable teſtimony of my friend General Lincoln, the intrinſick

ſick merit of the work (ſo far as I am able to form a judgment from its perſpicuity and impartiality) carries a ſufficient recommendation to enſure a favourable reception.

" The ſeries of events, which followed from the concluſion of the war, forms a link of no ordinary magnitude in the chain of the American annals. That portion of domeſtick hiſtory, which you have ſelected for your narrative, deſerved particularly to be diſcuſſed, and ſet in its proper point of light, while materials for the purpoſe were attainable. Nor was it unbecoming or unimportant to enlighten the Europeans, who ſeem to have been extremely ignorant with regard to theſe tranſactions. While I comprehend fully the difficulty of ſtating facts on the ſpot, amidſt the living actors and recent animoſities, I approve the more cordially that candour, with which you appear to have done it.

" I will only add that I always feel a ſingular ſatisfaction in diſcovering proofs of talents and patriotiſm, in thoſe who are ſoon to take the parts of the generation, which is now haſtening to leave the ſtage; and that with wiſhes for your proſperity, I remain,

Sir,

y^r^ moſt obed^t^ & very hble ſerv^t^,

G^o^ Waſhington."

Note V.

" Copy of my letter to Preſident Adams with my firſt volume of the continuation of the hiſtory of Maſſachuſetts Bay.

Boſton. 9th. Feb. 1798.

" Sir,

The encloſed volume of a continuation of Maſſachuſetts hiſtory is introduced more abruptly to your notice, than I intended it ſhould have been. The dedication, being official, is leſs the ſubject of apology on this account, than the matter itſelf, of which your knowledge is ſo great, that I flattered myſelf with an opportunity of opening my deſign to you in perſon, previous to my publication. That I did not do this certainly was not owing to any difficulty of acceſs on your part, and was rather owing to a misfortune than a fault in mine. After ſettling with my friend, Dr. Welſh, the beſt manner of doing it, an accidental deviation from a viſit, which we underſtood you propoſed in town, fruſtrated my intention at that time; and unavoidable avocations afterwards prevented my going to Quincy until your departure.

"I beg your acceptance of this copy. The nature of the ſubject may induce you to read it even amidſt the many affairs of importance, which your high office throws upon your attention. If, after a peruſal, you ſhall judge it not devoid of merit, I have to requeſt, that in caſe there are any documents lying by you, not deſtined for ſome happier uſe, I may be favoured with a view of them, to enable me to correct any errours that may have ariſen, and to aſſiſt my future progreſs. I am, Sir, &c.

"Anſwer of the Preſident of the United States to my letter of the 9th of Feb. 1798.

Philadelphia. Feb. 28. 1798.

"Sir,

I have received your kind letter of the 9th. of this month, with its elegant companion, the firſt volume of your Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay from the year 1748. For this valuable preſent I pray you to accept my thanks.

"I have read the work with great pleaſure. The ſtyle of it is a model of hiſtorical eloquence: the narration is very perſpicuous; and the matter only ſuch as becomes the dignity of hiſtory.

"I ſhould have been happy to have received you at Quincy laſt fall, and ſhall be very glad to ſee you at any other time: but I have no hope of giving you much aſſiſtance in your literary reſearches. My life has been that of a bird, too volatile to have collected information of much conſequence to your purpoſe.

"I hope you will purſue the ſubject onwards; and look back too to the beginning of our hiſtory. I am not ſatisfied with Hutchinſon, though his work is valuable. Annals too I ſhould think preferable to hiſtory, and minuter details even of the Indian wars, than have hitherto been publiſhed in print.

" With great and ſincere eſteem, I am, &c.

John Adams." *Journal.*

Note VI.

The Hiſtorical Society was planned by Drs. Belknap, Thacher, and Eliot, and Judge Winthrop and Judge Tudor. Theſe gentlemen aſſociated with them five others, of whom Judge Minot was one. The whole met together and organized the Society. From the beginning Mr. Minot was an active and uſeful member; and though he wrote nothing, yet many valuable papers were with much pains collected by him, and publiſhed in the Society's volumes.

Note VII.

" 1800. January. I was ſuddenly alarmed by a viſit from three members of the Committee of arrangements for the ceremonies on General Waſhington's death.—Their buſineſs was to inform me of my being appointed to deliver an eulogy on that occaſion before the inhabitants of Boſton. I was ſick, dejected, and ſo weak as convinced me, that I could neither compoſe nor deliver the work requeſted. I begged their excuſe with as much fervour as a criminal would beg the remiſſion of his ſentence. I obtained only a reprieve until the afternoon, when I determined to bring my phyſician [Dr. Dexter] to my aid. His opinion of my ill-health availed nothing: I was forced to accept. They gave me ten days to prepare myſelf. What were my feelings in this ſhort time? My only refuge was in an enthuſiaſtick purſuit of my ſubject, which ſtimulated what little powers I poſſeſſed to their utmoſt exertion. A candour and mild expectation prevailed through all ranks of people, which encouraged me. A like kind of attentive ſilence enabled me to deliver myſelf ſo as to be heard. I ſat down, unconſcious of the effect, feeling as though the muſick was at once playing the dirge of Waſhington's memory and my own literary reputation. I was ſoon aſtoniſhed at my good fortune: all praiſed me: a whole a whole edition of my Eulogy ſold in a day. The printers preſented me with an additional number of copies on account of their ſucceſs. Invitations are ſent me to dine in reſpectable companies. My friends are delighted; and although nearly exhauſted by ſickneſs, I am happy. Such was the ſucceſsful iſſue of the moſt unpropitious undertaking that I ever engaged in." *Journal.*

Note VIII.

"In the month of Auguſt, 1796, I was appointed to act as State's Attorney for the county of Suffolk, the Attorney General being abſent upon the buſineſs of the boundary river, St. Croix. A number of diſagreeable events, which I ſhall ever recollect with the greateſt pain, concurred at this time to diſqualify me for the taſk; which I felt conſcious of, but could not well decline it. A prepoſſeſſion that one will do ill never fails to verify our fears; and accordingly I did ill enough; of which I had a due ſenſe, and made ſuitable acknowledgments to my evil genius. Whilſt I was in the paroxiſm of my mortification, Mr. Sharpleſs, an ingenious portrait painter, ſent me a note, acquainting me, that he was making a collection of portraits of the moſt eminent and publick characters in the United States; and requeſted to know when it would be convenient for me to ſit to him. I really thought ſo meanly of myſelf, that I did not ſeem worthy to be hung up in a ſhoemaker's ſhop, under the laſt words and dying ſpeech of Levi Ames; and nothing appeared to be wanting to my diſgrace, but ſuffering myſelf to be held up among the great worthies of America. Accordingly I ſent my compliments to Mr. Sharpleſs, thanked him for his intended politeneſs; but diſclaimed all right of being ranked among the eminent and publick characters, which he was collecting together; and ſo refuſed ſitting. The chief juſtice Dana afterwards called on me, and requeſted me to ſit. Out of deference to him I ſaid, if it was his opinion that I ought, I would no longer decline. But luckily Mr. Sharpleſs never troubled me again with an invitation." *Journal.*

Note

Note IX.

"1796. November. Colonel Dawes and Mr. Otis are choſen, the one elector of preſident and vice-preſident, the other a repreſentative to Congreſs. Some days before the choice, —— came to me and ſaid, that the Federaliſts had ſerious apprehenſions that they ſhould not be able to carry Mr. Otis; but that he was of opinion, that the two parties would cordially unite in me; and aſked me, if I would ſuffer myſelf to be ſet up as a candidate for repreſentative. I told him that the idea was wholly new to me, but as I muſt give up the probate office, I thought it would be imprudent. He would not take ſo ſudden an anſwer, but required me to conſider it until the next day, which I did, and then, after conſulting with one friend, returned him the ſame anſwer, which ended the affair." *Journal.*

Note X.

"1784. December 12th. Sunday. I verily think that my ſalvation does not depend upon my believing the Trinity or the Unity of the Godhead; nor am I a better chriſtian, for enliſting under the banners of Chriſt to ſupport his equality with the Father, or for aſſiſting the omnipotence of the Father in maintaining his ſuperiority over the Son, than if I ſincerely imitated the example of the one, and reverentially adored the other." *Journal.*

Note XI.

"1797. September 11th. The fate of man is pitiable: nothing but great powers can raiſe him, when endowed with ſenſibility, above miſery. Theſe are not at his option. Application may do much to ſtrengthen ſmall talents; but after all they will ſcarcely ſcreen him from contempt: and application is not always in a man's power: it is itſelf a faculty of creating abilities. Innocence is the only refuge to ſhelter mediocrity of parts. This is in every man's command.——Yet, let us reflect:—happy were it ſo! Can weakneſs be a match for temptation? No. To reſiſt it requires ſtrength of mind, command of all the appetites and paſſions, a vigilant, inflexible prudence. What is the weak man of ſenſibility then to do? Hard is his lot. In attempting to learn courage, the wounds he receives in the conflict juſtify his ideas of danger. In fortifying the mind with firmneſs, he finds not deranged materials to be ſet in order, but a vacancy of powers, a link by nature omitted in the chain of reaſon. Let him addreſs himſelf to heaven, implore its benevolent aid, and by endeavouring to become good, lay a foundation for confidence in himſelf, which may extend in time, beyond the particular objects of piety, and like the healing bark in the wounded tree, cover his nakedneſs, invigorate his growth, and multiply his fruits. To do this may God help me!" *Journal.*

"1797. October 31ſt. I have frequently reſolved to keep a journal; but never could be brought to put it into practice. Of what ſhould it conſiſt? Of reſolutions and relapſes; of many faults and few virtues; of fears without danger, and misfortunes without forecaſt. Of what avail would ſuch a picture be?" *Journal.*

Note XII.

As was anticipated, ſeveral perſons have, ſince his deceaſe, paid the tribute of reſpect to the memory of Judge Minot. The following juſt portrait of his character is by the pencil of his friend, the Hon. John Quincy Adams.

"Are you an obſerver of men, and has it been your fortune only once in your life to behold George Richards Minot? You have remarked the elegance of his perſon and the peculiar charm of expreſſion in his countenance—Have you witneſſed his deportment? It bore the marks of graceful ſimplicity, of dignified modeſty, of unaſſuming urbanity—Have you liſtened to his converſation? It was the voice of harmony; it was the index to a penetrating and accurate mind; it was the echo to a warm and generous heart. Such appeared Mr. Minot, on a firſt and tranſient acquaintance; from which period, to that of the moſt confidential intimacy, our own knowledge, and the unvaried teſtimony of indiſputable authority concur in affirming that every trace of pleaſing firſt impreſſion was proportionally deepened; every anticipation of ſterling worth abundantly fulfilled. His character, as the citizen of a free country, was not leſs exemplary. The profoundeſt hiſtorian of antiquity has adduced the life of Agricola, as an extraordinary proof that it is poſſible to be a great and good man, even under the deſpotiſm of the worſt of princes. Mr. Minot's example may be alleged as a demonſtration equally rare under a free republic, that in times of the greateſt diſſenſion, and amidſt the moſt virulent rancour of factions, a man may be great and good, and yet acquire and preſerve the eſteem and veneration of all. In the bitterneſs of civil contention, he enjoyed the joint applauſe of minds the moſt irreconcileable to each other. Before the muſick of his character the very ſcorpions dropped from the laſh of diſcord; the very ſnakes of faction liſtened and ſunk aſleep! Yet did he not purchaſe this unanimous approbation by the ſacrifice of any principle at the ſhrine of popularity. From that double-tongued candour which faſhions its doctrines to its company; from that cowardice in the garb of good nature, which aſſents to all opinions becauſe it dares ſupport none; from that obſequious egotiſm, ever ready to bow before the idol of the day, to make man its God, and hold the voice of mortality for the voice of heaven, he was pure as the chryſtal ſtreams. Perſonal invectives and odious imputations againſt political adverſaries he knew to be ſeldom neceſſary; he knew that when unneceſſary, whether exhibited in the diſguſting deformity of their nakedneſs, or tricked out in the gorgeous decorations of philoſophy, whether livid with the cadaverous colours of their natural complexion or flaring with the coſmetick waſhes of pretended patriotiſm, they are ever found among the profligate proſtitutes of party, and not among the veſtal virgins of truth. He diſdained to uſe them: but as to all the great queſtions upon principle, which are at the bottom of our diviſions, there was no more concealment or diſguiſe in his lips, than heſitation or wavering in his mind. So far was he from courting the prejudices or compromiſing with the claims of faction, that he publiſhed the hiſtory of the inſurrections in this commonwealth, at a time when the paſſions, which had produced them, were ſtill vigorous and flouriſhing: and although nothing contributed more than that work to conſign the rebellion it recorded to infamy, none of its numerous abettors ever raiſed a reclamation againſt the veracity of the hiſtory, or the worth of the hiſtorian.

" The community to which ſuch a man as this belongs, confer honour upon themſelves by every token of diſtinction they beſtow upon him. Mr. Minot was ſucceſſively employed in various offices of truſt and of honour. To vice a merciful but inflexible judge ; to misfortune a compaſſionate friend ; to the widow, a protector of her rights ; to the orphan, one in place of a father : in every ſtation which the voice of his country called him alternately to fill, he diſplayed that individual endowment of the mind and that peculiar virtue of the heart, which was moſt eſſential to the uſeful exerciſe of its functions. During the latter period of his life, his occupations were multiplied beyond the performance of an ordinary man. He not only accompliſhed them all with facility, but found hours of leiſure for his favourite ſtudious purſuits, and hours of relaxation for the enjoyments of ſocial intercourſe and convivial feſtivity.

" His attainments in literature outſtripped the ſlow advance of years ; in the bloom of youth he was aſſociated to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Hiſtorical Society recognize in him one of their founders. Of his occaſional performances, it may be ſaid without diſparagement to others, that there is little difficulty in diſtinguiſhing their characteriſtick excellence. His Oration on the 5th of March ; his Eulogy on the firſt of American patriots and heroes, and his addreſs to your Society, from the ſpot whence this feeble tribute to his memory is now offered, deſerve a particular enumeration among the productions of his mind. He had an ardent and inextinguiſhable thirſt of general knowledge ; but the department of hiſtory was that towards which ſome caſual incident, of thoſe which are wont to point the magnet of genius to its polar ſtar, had originally turned the bias of his preference. The reſult of his labours in this field, is chiefly before the publick, and is duly appreciated by all who deem any ſuch labours objects of regard. As an hiſtorian, authenticity, impartiality, penetration and ſagacity, are obvious characters of his writings. His narrative is perſpicuous ; his arrangement well delineated : he traces events to their cauſes, with diſcriminating eye, and though ſparing of his own reflections upon their iſſue, he ſkilfully collects and concentrates their rays upon the mind of his reader. He makes no oſtentatious diſplay of his moral and intellectual wealth, but gives you the key to the chambers containing them : it is but opening the door, and treaſures in profuſion are before you. His ſelection of ſubjects was dictated by a vigorous judgment, and a well meditated ſenſe of utility. The inſurrections of the year 1786, form one of the moſt inſtructive periods in the hiſtory of our country. Occaſions like that, elicit and diſplay many of the virtues and vices, accompliſhments and defects of publick bodies and private individuals, of conſtitutions and conſtituted authorities, which remain latent in times of cooler compoſure. The younger part of our fellow-citizens eſpecially, will find themſelves amply rewarded for any time and meditation beſtowed upon that work. It will give them a deeper inſight into the character of this people, a more extenſive view of our ſocial organization, and its internal operations at critical times, than they could obtain by years of perſonal obſervation. The progreſs of colliſions in publick ſentiment, until they kindle into civil war, in a country where publick ſentiment is the final earthly arbiter of all publick meaſures, and where the efficacy of obedience is in ordinary times ſecured by the mildneſs of authority, there reveals a precious mine, to the ſearch of contemplation. There a citizen of Maſſachuſetts may learn not to deſpair of publick virtue, even when apparently extinguiſhed by the violence of party, and the preſſure of diſtreſs. There an American may be informed that our Conſtitutions have within them a principle of ſelf-preſervation, beyond the letter of the law, which can redeem them from diſſolution even when apparently ſuffocated by the overwhelming torrents of faction.

"The revolution which ſeparated theſe States from their connexion as Colonies with Great Britain, and their ſubſequent confederation, have taken from our local hiſtory ſome of its magnitude and moment. Theſe events have expanded the circle, and increaſed the multitude of our civil relations. In forming the idea of our country, we are no longer bounded by the ſcanty dimenſions of a petty province. The largeſt portion of this Continent is united under a ſocial compact, which makes its inhabitants equal fellow-citizens of one great and growing empire. To preſerve, to ſtrengthen, to perpetuate this union, is the firſt political duty, as it ought to be the higheſt glory of every American. Since its eſtabliſhment our hiſtory has become the hiſtory of the nation: and had it been conſiſtent with the wiſe decrees of Providence to prolong the life of Mr. Minot, we might have hoped that the period which came within the compaſs of his obſervation, would have been tranſmitted to future times, with that ſimplicity and purity of ſtyle and manner, that zeal for the civil and religious liberties of man, that inſtinctive and reflected love of virtue and abhorrence of vice, which flowed ſpontaneouſly from his pen. But before he could commence upon this arduous taſk, there was a previous chaſm in our hiſtory to be filled. It was a period of leſs general intereſt than thoſe which preceded and followed it; leſs propitious therefore to the talents and reputation of its hiſtorian. But Mr. Minot's primary conſideration was the publick utility, and not his own perſonal fame.—It was a labour inadequate indeed to his powers, but neceſſary to connect the chain of our annals; and unleſs undertaken by him, it might have remained unaccompliſhed. Of this work, one volume is in poſſeſſion of the publick. He was juſt cloſing the ſecond, when the pen was wreſted from his hand, by that king of terrours, whom the moſt elevated human capacity and the moſt perfect human virtues are alike impotent to reſiſt."

Addreſs to the Members of the Maſſachuſetts Charitable Fire Society, May 28. 1802.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE EASTERN COAST OF THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE, FROM CAPE COD, OR RACE POINT, IN LATITUDE 42°. 5′. TO CAPE MALEBARRE, OR SANDY POINT OF CHATHAM, IN LATITUDE 41°. 33′. POINTING OUT THE SPOTS, ON WHICH THE TRUSTEES OF THE HUMANE SOCIETY HAVE ERECTED HUTS, AND OTHER PLACES WHERE SHIPWRECKED SEAMEN MAY LOOK FOR SHELTER. OCTOBER, 1802.

THE curvature of the ſhore, on the weſt ſide of Provincetown, and ſouth of Race Point, is called Herring Cove; which is three miles in length. There is good anchoring ground here; and veſſels may ride ſafely in four or five fathoms of water, when the wind is from north-eaſt to ſouth-eaſt.

On Race Point ſtand about a dozen fiſhing huts, containing fire places and other conveniences. The diſtance from theſe huts to Provincetown, which lies on Cape Cod harbour, is three miles. The paſſage is over a ſandy beach, without graſs or any other vegetable growing on it, to the woods, through which is a winding road to the town. It would be difficult, if not impoſſible, for a ſtranger to find his way thither in the dark; and the woods are ſo full of ponds and entangling ſwamps, that if the road was miſſed, deſtruction would probably be the conſequence of attempting to penetrate them in the night.

Not far from Race Point commences a ridge, which extends to the head of Stout's Creek. With the face to the eaſt, on the left hand of the ridge is the ſandy ſhore; on the right is a narrow, ſandy valley; beyond which is naked ſand, reaching to the hills and woods of Provincetown. This ridge is well covered with beach graſs; and appears to owe its exiſtence to that vegetable. Beach graſs, during the ſpring and ſummer, grows about two feet and a half. If ſurrounded by naked beach, the ſtorms of autumn and winter heap up the ſand on all ſides, and cauſe it to riſe nearly to the top of the plant. In the enſuing ſpring the graſs ſprouts anew; is again covered with ſand in the winter; and thus a hill or ridge continues to aſcend, as long as there is a ſufficient baſe to ſupport it, or till the circumſcribing ſand, being alſo covered with beach graſs, will no longer yield to the force of the winds.

On this ridge, half-way between Race Point and the head of Stout's Creek, the Truſtees of the Humane Society have erected a hut. It ſtands a mile from Peaked Hill, a land-mark well known to ſeamen; and is about two miles and a half from Race Point. Seamen, caſt away on this part of the coaſt, will find a ſhelter here; and in north-eaſt ſtorms, ſhould they ſtrike to the leeward of it, and be unable to turn their faces to the windward, by paſſing on to Race Point, they will ſoon come to the fiſhing huts before mentioned.

At the head of Stout's Creek the Truſtees have built a ſecond hut. Stout's Creek is a ſmall branch of Eaſt Harbour in Truro. Many years ago there was a body of ſalt marſh on it; and it then deſerved the name of a creek; But the marſh was long ſince deſtroyed; and the creek now ſcarcely exiſts, appearing only like a ſmall depreſſion in the ſand, and being entirely dry at half tide. The creek runs from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, and is nearly parallel with the ſhore on the ocean, from which it is at no great diſtance. Not far from it the hills of Provincetown terminate; and ſhould not the hut be found, by walking round the head of the creek, with the face to the weſt, the hills on the right hand, and keeping cloſe to the ſhore on the harbour, in leſs than an hour the ſhipwrecked ſeamen would come to Provincetown.

The Humane Society, ſeveral years ago, erected a hut at the head of Stout's Creek. But it was built in an improper manner, having a chimney in it; and was placed on a ſpot where no beach graſs grew. The ſtrong winds blew the ſand from its foundation, and the weight of the chimney brought it to the ground; ſo that in January of the preſent year it was entirely demoliſhed. This event took place about ſix weeks before the Brutus was caſt away. If it had remained, it is probable that the whole of the unfortunate crew of that ſhip would have been ſaved, as they gained the ſhore a few rods only from the ſpot where the hut had ſtood.

The hut now erected ſtands on a place covered with beach graſs. To prevent any accident from happening to it, or to the other hut near Peaked Hill, the Truſtees have ſecured the attention of ſeveral gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Dr. Thaddeus Brown and Capt. Thomas Smalley of Provincetown have engaged to inſpect both huts, to ſee that they are ſupplied with ſtraw or hay in the autumn, that the doors and windows are kept ſhut, and that repairs are made, when neceſſary. The Rev. Mr. Damon of Truro has alſo promiſed to viſit the hut at Stout's Creek twice or thrice in a year; and the Rev. Mr. Whitman of Wellfleet, diſtinguiſhed through the county for his activity and benevolence, has undertaken, though remote from the place, the ſame charge.

From the head of Stout's Creek to the termination of the ſalt marſh, which lies on both ſides and at the head of Eaſt Harbour river, the diſtance is about three miles and a half. A narrow beach ſeparates this river from the ocean. It is not ſo regular a ridge as that before deſcribed, as there are on it one or two hills, which the neighbouring inhabitants call iſlands. It may without much difficulty be croſſed every where, except over theſe elevations. By theſe hills, even during the night, the beach may be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe hereafter to be mentioned. It lies from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt; and is in moſt parts covered with beach graſs. The hills have a few ſhrubs on the declivities next the river. At the end of the marſh the beach ſubſides a little; and there is an eaſy paſſage into a valley, in which are ſituated two or three dwelling houſes. The firſt on the left hand, or ſouth, is a few rods only from the ocean.

The ſhore, which extends from this valley to Race Point, is unqueſtionably the part of the coaſt the moſt expoſed to ſhipwrecks. A north-eaſt ſtorm, the moſt violent, and fatal to ſeamen, as it is frequently accompanied with ſnow, blows directly on the land: a ſtrong current ſets along the ſhore: add to which that ſhips, during the operation of ſuch a ſtorm, endeavour to work to the northward, that they may get into the bay. Should they be unable to weather Race Point, the wind drives them on the ſhore, and a ſhipwreck is inevitable. Accordingly, the ſtrand is every where covered with the fragments of veſſels. Huts therefore, placed within a mile of each other, have been thought neceſſary by many judicious perſons. To this opinion the Truſtees are diſpoſed to pay due reſpect; and hereafter, if the funds of the Society increaſe, new huts will be built here for the relief of the unfortunate.

From the valley above mentioned the land riſes, and leſs than a mile from it the High Land commences. On the firſt elevated ſpot, the Clay Pounds, ſtands the Light Houſe. The ſhore here turns to the ſouth; and the High Land extends to the Table Land of Eaſtham. This High Land approaches the ocean with ſteep and lofty banks, which it is extremely difficult to climb, eſpecially in a ſtorm. In violent tempeſts, during very high tides, the ſea breaks againſt the foot of them, rendering it then unſafe to walk on the ſtrand, which lies between them and the ocean. Should the ſeaman ſucceed in his attempt to aſcend them, he muſt forbear to penetrate into the country, as houſes are generally ſo remote, that they would eſcape his reſearch during the night: he muſt paſs on to the vallies, by which the banks are interſected. Theſe vallies, which the inhabitants call Hollows, run at right angles with the ſhore; and in the middle, or loweſt part of them, a road leads from the dwelling houſes to the ſea.

The firſt of theſe vallies is Dyer's Hollow, a mile and a half ſouth of the Light Houſe. This opening is about two hundred yards broad from ſummit to ſummit. In it ſtands a dwelling houſe, a quarter of a mile from the beach.

A mile and a half ſouth of Dyer's Hollow, is a ſecond valley, called Harding's Hollow. At the entrance of this valley, the ſand has gathered; ſo that at preſent a little climbing is neceſſary. Paſſing over ſeveral fences, and taking heed not to enter the wood on the right hand, at the diſtance of three quarters of a mile, a houſe is to be found. This houſe ſtands on the ſouth ſide of the road; and not far from it, on the ſouth, is Pamet river, which runs from eaſt to weſt through a body of ſalt marſh.

The third valley, a half of a mile ſouth of Harding's Hollow, is Head of Pamet Hollow. It may with eaſe be diſtinguiſhed from the other hollows mentioned, as it is a wide opening, and leads immediately over a beach to the ſalt marſh at the head of Pamet river. In the midſt of the hollow the ſand has been raiſed by a bruſh fence, carried acroſs it from north to ſouth. This muſt be paſſed; and the ſhipwrecked mariner will ſoon come to a fence, which ſeparates what is called the road from the marſh. If he turn to the left hand, or ſouth, at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, he will diſcover a houſe. If he turn to the right hand, at the diſtance of half a mile, he will find the ſame houſe, which is mentioned in the foregoing paragraph.

The fourth opening, three quarters of a mile ſouth of Head of Pamet, is Bruſh Valley. This hollow is narrow, and climbing is neceſſary. Entering it, and inclining to the right, three quarters of a mile will bring ſeamen to the houſe, which is ſituated at the Head of Pamet. By proceeding ſtraight forward, and paſſing over riſing ground, another houſe may be diſcovered, but with more difficulty.

Theſe three hollows, lying near together, ſerve to deſignate each other. Either of them may be uſed; but Head of Pamet Hollow is the ſafeſt.

South of Bruſh Valley, at the diſtance of three miles, there is a fifth opening, called Newcomb's Hollow, eaſt of the head of Herring river in Wellfleet. This valley is a quarter of a mile wide. On the north ſide of it, near the ſhore, ſtands a fiſhing hut.

Between the two laſt vallies the bank is very high and ſteep. From the edge of it, weſt, there is a ſtrip of ſand, a hundred yards in breadth. Then ſucceeds low bruſhwood, a quarter of a mile wide, and almoſt impaſſable. After which comes a thick, perplexing foreſt, in which not a houſe is to be diſcovered. Seamen therefore, though the diſtance between theſe two vallies is great, muſt not attempt to enter the wood, as in a ſnow ſtorm they muſt undoubtedly periſh. This place, ſo formidable in deſcription, will loſe ſomewhat of its terrour, when it is obſerved, that no inſtance of a ſhipwreck on this part of the coaſt is recollected by the oldeſt inhabitants of Wellfleet.

Half of a mile ſouth of Newcomb's Hollow, is the ſixth valley, called Pearce's Hollow. It is a ſmall valley. A houſe ſtands at the diſtance of a little more than a quarter of a mile from the beach, weſt by ſouth.

The ſeventh valley is Cohoon's Hollow, a half of a mile ſouth of Pearce's Hollow. It is not very wide. Weſt from the entrance, ſeveral houſes may be found at the diſtance of a mile. This hollow lies eaſt by north from Wellfleet meeting houſe.

Two miles ſouth of Cohoon's Hollow, the eighth valley is Snow's Hollow. It is ſmaller than the laſt. Weſt from the ſhore, at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, is the county road, which goes round the head of Blackfiſh Creek. Paſſing through this valley to the fence, which ſeparates the road from the upland and marſh at the head of the creek, a houſe will immediately be found by turning to the right hand, or north. There are houſes alſo on the left, but more remote.

The High Land gradually ſubſides here, and a mile and a half ſouth terminates at the ninth valley, called Freſh Brook Hollow, in which a houſe is to be found a mile from the ſhore, weſt.

The tenth, two miles and a half ſouth from Freſh Brook Hollow, is Plum Valley, about three hundred yards wide. Weſt is a houſe, three quarters of a mile diſtant.

Between theſe two vallies is the Table Land.

After this there is no hollow of importance to Cape Malebarre.

From Freſh Brook Hollow to the commencement of Nauſet beach, the bank next the ocean is about ſixty feet high. There are houſes ſcattered over the plain, open country: but none of them are nearer than a mile to the ſhore. In a ſtorm of wind and rain they might be diſcerned by day light; but in a ſnow ſtorm, which rages here with exceſſive fury, it would be almoſt impoſſible to diſcover them either by night or by day.

Not far from this ſhore, ſouth, the Truſtees have erected a third hut, on Nauſet beach. Nauſet beach begins in latitude 41°. 51′. and extends ſouth to latitude 41°. 41′. It is divided into two parts by a breach, which the ocean has made through it. This breach is the mouth of Nauſet or Stage harbour; and from the opening the beach extends north two miles and a quarter, till it joins the main land. It is about a furlong wide and forms Nauſet harbour; which is of little value, its entrance being obſtructed by a bar. This northern part of the beach may be diſtinguiſhed from the ſouthern part by its being of a leſs regular form: ſtorms have made frequent irruptions through the ridge, on which beach graſs grows. On an elevated part of the beach, ſtands the hut, about a mile and a half north of the mouth of Nauſet harbour. Eaſtham meeting houſe lies from it weſt ſouth weſt, diſtant a mile and three quarters. The meeting houſe is without a ſteeple; but it may be diſtinguiſhed from the dwelling houſes near it by its ſituation, which is between two ſmall groves of locuſts, one on the ſouth, and one on the north, that on the ſouth being three times as long as the other. About a mile and a quarter from the hut, weſt by north, appear the top and arms of a windmill. The Rev. Mr. Shaw and Eliſha Mayo, Eſq. of Eaſtham have engaged to inſpect this building.

The ſouthern part of Nauſet beach, moſt commonly called Chatham beach, and by a few perſons Potanumaquut beach, begins at the mouth of Nauſet harbour, and extends eight or nine miles ſouth to the mouth of Chatham harbour. It is about fifty rods wide. A regular, well formed ridge, which in the moſt elevated part of it is forty feet high, runs the whole length of it; and, with the exception of a few ſpots, is covered with beach graſs. This beach forms the barrier of Chatham harbour, which from Strong iſland north receives the name of Pleaſant bay. A mile ſouth of the entrance of Nauſet harbour, it joins the main land of Orleans, except in very high tides, when the ſea flows from the north-eaſtern arm of Pleaſant bay into the harbour of Nauſet, completely inſulating the beach. By thoſe who are acquainted with the ſhallow, it may be ſafely forded at any time; but ſtrangers muſt not venture to paſs it, when covered with water, as below, the channel is ſeven feet deep. On this beach, about half way between the entrances of Nauſet and Chatham harbours, the Truſtees have erected a fourth hut. The ſpot ſelected is a narrow part of the beach. On the weſt, the water adjoining it is called Baſs Hole. Salt marſh is north and ſouth of it next the beach, but is here interrupted.

Orleans meeting houſe lies from it north-weſt. The meeting houſe is without a ſteeple, and is not ſeen; but it is very near a windmill placed on an elevated ground, a conſpicuous object to ſeamen coming on the coaſt. It may be neceſſary to add that there are three windmills in Orleans forming a ſemicircle, that the mill referred to is on the right hand, or north-eaſt point, and that the mill in the middle point of the ſemicircle ſtands on ſtill higher ground. The meeting houſe of Chatham is ſituated from it ſouth weſt. This meeting houſe is alſo without a ſteeple, and is concealed by Great Hill, a noted land mark. The hill appears with two ſummits, which are a quarter of a mile apart. The hut lies eaſt from Sampſon's iſland in Pleaſant bay. Timothy Baſcom, Eſq. of Orleans has undertaken to inſpect this hut.

Leſt ſeaman ſhould miſs this hut, by ſtriking to the leeward of it, the Truſtees have erected another on the ſame beach. It ſtands a mile north of the mouth of Chatham harbour, eaſt of the meeting houſe, and oppoſite the town.

Another ſpot on the ſame beach would be a proper ſituation for a hut. It is north of the fourth hut, and eaſt of the middle of Pochet iſland. The higheſt part of the ridge is near it, ſouth. A break in the ridge, over which the ſea appears ſometimes to have flowed, divides this high part from the northern portion of the beach.

On the beach of Cape Malebarre, or the Sandy Point of Chatham, the Truſtees have built a ſixth hut. This beach ſtretches from Chatham, ten miles into the ſea, towards Nantucket; and is from a quarter to three quarters of a mile in breadth. It is continually gaining ſouth: above three miles have been added to it during the paſt fifty years. On the eaſt ſide of the beach is a curve in the ſhore, called Stewart's Bend, where veſſels may anchor with ſafety, in three or four fathoms of water, when the wind blows from north to ſouth-weſt. North of the Bend there are ſeveral bars and ſhoals. A little below the middle of the beach, on the weſt ſide, is Wreck Cove, which is navigable for boats only. The hut ſtands two hundred yards from the ocean, ſouth-eaſt from the entrance of Wreck Cove, a half of a mile. Between the mouth of the

Cove and hut, is Stewart's Knoll, an elevated part of the beach. The diſtance of the hut from the commencement of the beach is ſix miles, and from its termination four. Great Hill in Chatham bears north by weſt, diſtant ſix miles; and the ſouth end of Morris's iſland, which is on the weſt ſide of the beach, north by eaſt, diſtant four miles. Richard Sears, Eſq. of Chatham has engaged to viſit the two laſt mentioned huts.

Two miles below the ſixth hut is a fiſhing houſe, built of thatch, in the form of a wigwam. It ſtands on the weſt ſide of the beach, a quarter of a mile from the ocean. Annually in September it is renewed; and generally remains in tolerable preſervation during the winter.

Another ſpot, a few rods from the ſea, four miles ſouth from the commencement of the beach, and a half of a mile north of the head of Wreck Cove, would be a proper ſituation for a hut. A little ſouth of this ſpot, in ſtorms and very high tides, the ſea breaks over from the ocean into Wreck Cove.

Cape Malebarre beach may be diſtinguiſhed from the two beaches before deſcribed, not only by its greater breadth, but alſo by its being of a leſs regular form. It is not ſo well covered with graſs as Chatham beach. From Stewart's Knoll, ſouth, to the extremity, it is loweſt in the middle. In this valley, and in other low places, freſh water may be obtained by digging two feet into the ſand. The ſame thing is true of Nauſet and Chatham beaches.

The ſix huts, the ſituation of which has thus been pointed out, are all of one ſize and ſhape. Each hut ſtands on piles, is eight feet long, eight feet wide, and ſeven feet high; a ſliding door is on the ſouth, a ſliding ſhutter on the weſt, and a pole, riſing fifteen feet above the top of the building, on the eaſt. Within, it is ſupplied either with ſtraw or hay; and is farther accommodated with a bench.

The whole of the coaſt, from Cape Cod to Cape Malebarre, is ſandy, and free from rocks. Along the ſhore, at the diſtance of a half of a mile, is a bar; which is called the *Outer* Bar, becauſe there are ſmaller bars within it, perpetually varying. This outer bar is ſeparated into many parts by guzzles, or ſmall channels. It extends to Chatham; and as it proceeds ſouthward, gradually approaches the ſhore and grows more ſhallow. Its general depth at high water is two fathoms, and three fathoms over the guzzles; and its leaſt diſtance from the ſhore is about a furlong. Off the mouth of Chatham harbour there are bars which reach three quarters of a mile; and off the entrance of Nauſet harbour the bars extend a half of a mile. Large, heavy ſhips ſtrike on the outer bar, even at high water; and their fragments only reach the ſhore. But ſmaller veſſels paſs over it at full ſea; and when they touch at low water, they beat over it, as the tide riſes, and ſoon come to the land. If a veſſel be caſt away at low water, it ought to be left with as much expedition as poſſible; becauſe the fury of the waves is then checked, in ſome meaſure, by the bar; and becauſe the veſſel is generally broken to pieces with the riſing flood. But ſeamen, ſhipwrecked at full ſea, ought to remain on board till near low water; for the veſſel does not then break to pieces; and by attempting to reach the land before the tide ebbs away, they are in great danger of being drowned. On this ſubject there is one opinion only among judicious mariners. It may be neceſſary however to remind them of a truth, of which they have full conviction, but which, amidſt the agitation and terrour of a ſtorm, they too frequently forget.

r. s.

DESCRIPTION OF SANDWICH, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE. 1802. BY WENDELL DAVIS, ESQUIRE.

SANDWICH is a poſt town, ſituate on the weſterly part of Cape Cod. The original grant of the townſhip was from the Old Colony of Plymouth, in the year 1639.

The court of aſſiſtants having aſſembled at Plymouth in the year 1685, and it being then repreſented to ſaid court, that Mr. William Bradford and his aſſociates had previouſly granted liberty to Mr. Edmund Freeman, Henry Feak, Thomas Dexter, and others, to eſtabliſh a plantation, ſince called Sandwich, in this government, the ſame grant was then confirmed, under the ſignature of Governour Hinckley, to the above-named grantees, their heirs and aſſigns forever.

The boundaries of the townſhip are deſcribed in that inſtrument in the following manner: "Beginning, weſterly, by the dividing line between the town of Plymouth and the ſaid town of Sandwich, and on the eaſt by the line which divides the town laſt mentioned from the town of Barnſtable, which runs north-eaſt to the ſea; and ſouth-weſt into the woods; and is bounded northerly by the ſea; ſoutherly partly by the dividing line between them and Suckanuſſett and partly by the Indians' land, according to the known and accuſtomed boundaries." It appears that the perſons, employed in running theſe lines, were Capt. *Miles Standiſh* and Mr. *John Alden*, characters well known in the early hiſtory of this country.

The quality of the ſoil in the extreme parts of this townſhip is generally light and unproductive; yielding however a large quantity of pine wood, interſperſed with oak, which of late years have aſſumed conſiderable value from the growing ſcarcity of that article in other towns diſtant, where it frequently is vended. One of the firſt natural advantages of this townſhip conſiſts in the extenſive tracts of wood land, which are found within its limits.

The traveller on the publick road from Plymouth to Sandwich would probably be often induced, from the ſandy condition of the roads, and the unſettled ſtate of the country, to anticipate with ſome ſolicitude the cloſe of his pilgrimage. To thoſe, however, who love to cheriſh the remembrance of "the days of old," the view of the ſacrifice rocks in his way, which the untutored Indian, in compliance with a religious uſage, has covered with pine knots and broken pieces of wood, may afford ſome relief to beguile the ſolitude of his ride. *Clam-Pudding Pond*, another object of attention to the antiquarian traveller, will alſo preſent itſelf to his view, where our anceſtors, in travelling from the Cape to Plymouth, uſed to ſit and regale themſelves with clams and pudding, the ſtaple diſhes of thoſe primitive times. After riding through a body of wood, twelve miles in extent, interſperſed with but few houſes, the *ſettlement* of *Sandwich* appears with a more agreeable effect to the eye of the traveller.

The firſt group of houſes, after leaving the woods, is called after the Indian name of *Scuſſett*; and the brook through which the traveller muſt paſs, in going through *Scuſſett*, is in the courſe of the long contemplated canal acroſs the iſthmus of Cape Cod. The quality of the ſoil upon the eaſt ſide of the road, extending to Barnſtable line, is good, well cultivated, and productive. On the *weſt* ſide, it is far leſs ſo.

About three miles from *Scuſſett* is the village of *Sandwich*. It is embelliſhed with a large and beautiful pond of water in its centre, and a fall of water, on which are ſituated a griſt-mill and fulling-mill that are ſupplied from an inexhauſtible fountain. This ſtream ſhapes its courſe to the ſea, fertilizing the lands and meadows through which it paſſes. Round this pond ſtand the principal houſes of the village, together with a number of ſhops for the different mechanick arts. The meeting houſe of the firſt precinct and a handſome academy occupy two neighbouring eminences. There are two *publick inns* in this village, which are excelled by few, if any, in the State.

Proceeding further eaſtward, the next group of houſes is at a place called *Spring Hill*. Here is ſituated the meeting houſe of the Friends, who conſtitute a conſiderably numerous and reſpectable claſs of the inhabitants.

The employment of the people on this ſhore is both maritime and agricultural. The town in its general character is more agricultural, however, than otherwiſe, and more ſo than any other in the county. The inhabitants in general are ſubſtantial *livers*. From their vicinity to the ſea, they are enabled to draw a conſiderable portion of their ſubſiſtence from its boſom. They generally occupy ſmall farms, and till them to the beſt advantage, and with far leſs labour than a ſtubborn ſoil would require. All ſorts of grain are raiſed with facility, and on ſpots of ground apparently the moſt unpromiſing to the eye of the huſbandman; reſulting perhaps from the contiguity of the ſoil to the humid atmoſphere of the ſea. The great extent and excellence of the meadows and marſhes in this place is a great ſource of wealth and improving huſbandry. By means of them, they are enabled to keep large ſtocks of cattle in the winter, and food for their ſubſiſtence through the remainder of the year, if neceſſary. It is computed that about one hundred loads of ſalt hay are

annually

annually ſold, to ſupply the wants of neighbouring towns to the weſtward of Sandwich. The townſhip is excellent for the raiſing of ſheep of the beſt kind, which run at large in the foreſts and plains. They average in the month of October, when they are ſold to the drovers from the northward and weſtward, about one dollar and upwards per head. The meat is greatly preferred by connoiſſeurs.

The townſhip abounds in ponds and brooks. At the places called Snake Pond, and Hog Pond, in the ſouth-weſterly part of the town, better known by the popular name of *the Woods*, are ſeveral ſmall ſettlements of houſes, and a few valuable farms.

Pocaſſett is an Indian name for the ſecond pariſh in Sandwich. This precinct is ſituated on Buzzard's bay, and contains a meeting houſe for publick worſhip, with a ſmall number of families. They have had but one ſettled miniſter, ſince their eſtabliſhment as a precinct. It is now vacant. Here, the oyſter beds are found in ſuch excellence and plenty. Wild deer are often taken in the woods of Pocaſſett and in different parts of the town. Of late, they have much increaſed, and a recent law of the Commonwealth, forbidding the killing of them but within a certain period of the year, and in a regulated manner, will tend greatly to augment their number.

A little to the northward and eaſtward of Pocaſſett is a place called Monumet after the Indian appellation. Theſe aboriginal names probably derived their origin from the circumſtance, that the ſeveral places which they repreſent were once favourite reſorts of the ſachems and natives of this country. *Monumet*, the laſt mentioned place, contains a ſmall collection of houſes and a publick meeting houſe. The clergyman of the firſt precinct officiates therein one ſixth part of the time, as it forms a part of his precinct. In Buzzard's and Buttermilk bays and alſo in Monumet river are found fiſh of various kinds: ſuch as baſs, ſheep's head, tau taug, &c.

The projected canal, if it ever ſhould be accompliſhed, will open almoſt a new creation to this part of the town. Where now are ſeen a few ſcattered dwellings, hundreds would then appear. Employment to large numbers of the inhabitants would be rapidly furniſhed. Real property ſituated on its borders would be greatly enhanced in value. Conſtant markets and an eaſy tranſportation of wood, which is the ſtaple article of buſineſs, would be obtained. Ware houſes would probably ſoon be erected on its banks; and a trade between the ſouthern and northern States facilitated, calculated to confer immenſe advantages on the vicinity of ſuch a channel of communication. If, from this partial and local conſideration of the ſubject, we extend our thoughts to the aggregate of national bleſſings, which would attend its execution, both as it reſpects the preſervation of life and property, our ideas of its importance and utility would become infinitely enhanced. There have been repeated ſurveys of the ground through which the propoſed canal would probably paſs, under the immediate eye of publick committees for that purpoſe. The documents accompanying their reports will be far more correct data, on which to found an enlightened opinion relative to the practicability of this enterpriſe, than any information within the knowledge of the writer of this paper. A more recent ſurvey however, which was prompted by the reward of private benefaction, has been made under the direction of Mr. *Bachellor*, a man of reputed knowledge and experience in works of this nature, which impreſſed the mind of the undertaker with a favourable idea of its practicability and ſucceſs. At the time the laſt ſurvey was taken, the proprietors of land generally came forward and expreſſed their diſpoſitions to give them to the publick towards accompliſhing ſo important an object.

There are ſeveral inlets in the town, which form ſafe, and in ſome inſtances, commodious harbours, viz. at Pocaſſett, Monumet, Scuſſett, Spring Hill, and the Town Harbour, ſo called. The Town Harbour is about a mile and a half below the meeting houſe of the firſt precinct. It is a ſmall and irregular inlet, capable of receiving only veſſels of ſmall tonnage. Theſe veſſels are principally employed in the coaſting buſineſs to Boſton and the eaſtern ſhore. Wood is the principal article of tranſportation. The fiſheries have been repeatedly attempted, but never with general ſucceſs. This line of buſineſs has always been proſecuted with more advantage in the eaſtern than in the weſtern part of the county. About *thirty ſail of veſſels* conſtitute the whole navigation of the place.

Some of the enterpriſing inhabitants have of late turned their attention to the manufacture of ſalt by the rays of the ſun on the lands near the ſea ſhore. It has been eſtimated that a capital of above a hundred and thirty thouſand dollars is already veſted in this kind of property in the ſeveral towns within the county of Barnſtable. Several patents for improved modes of building the works have been obtained by ingenious individuals on the Cape. The net profits upon this manufacture of ſalt is by general eſtimation twenty-five per cent upon the capital employed. When the ſucceſs, with the ſecurity and permanency of this ſpecies of property is conſidered, together with the handſome income it will always probably yield from the extenſive demand of this important article, we may reaſonably expect that this branch of buſineſs will become an increaſing ſource of opulence to this portion of the Commonwealth. The ſalt is remarkably pure and white, and the Glauber ſalts are recommended as of the beſt quality.

It is much to be lamented that the landholders in the county have not beſtowed more attention to the cultivation of *trees*. Beſide the beauty and worth they confer on any country, they would be of ſingular advantage to this Cape, by defending the ſoil from the inroads of driving wind and ſands. More trees are however to be found in Sandwich than in other parts of the county. Some orchards ſucceed here extremely well. One cider preſs in Sandwich is the only one known to the writer on this Cape. From the peculiarity of our local ſituation, the fruit trees are always expoſed in the ſpring to rude and ſevere blaſts. By giving the orchards a more northern or eaſtern aſpect, and retarding the early bloſſoming of the trees, the preſervation of fruit from theſe untimely blaſts would probably be greatly prevented.

By the late cenſus, the enumeration of the inhabitants ſtood at two thouſand and twenty-four ſouls; houſes, at two hundred and ninety-ſix. The town may be conſidered as favourable to longevity.—The table of mortality annexed to this deſcription will confirm this obſervation.

The eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of this place cannot be fully given for want of church memoranda. The records of the Firſt Congregational Church, previous to the ordination of the Rev. Roland Cotton, are loſt. He was ordained November 28, 1694, and died March 18, 1721-2, O. S. The Rev. Benjamin Feſſenden was ordained September 12, 1722, and died in the miniſtry Auguſt 8, 1746. Rev. Abraham Williams was ordained June 14, 1749, and died in the miniſtry Auguſt, 1784. Rev. Jonathan Burr, the preſent paſtor, was ordained April 18, 1787.

The inhabitants of Sandwich generally manifeſt a fond and ſteady adherence to the manners, employments, and modes of living, which characterized their fathers ; a reſemblance, which at this day, will conſtitute no impeachment of either their virtue or taſte.

Bill of mortality for the Firſt Congregational Society in Sandwich, from January 1, 1790, to January 1, 1800.

Years.	*Number of Deaths.*
1790	24
1791	19
1792	12
1793	22
1794	20
1795	19
1796	39
1797	13
1798	6
1799	10
Total number of deaths in 10 years,	184

The average number of deaths in a year, is 18,$\frac{4}{10}$.

Suppoſing the number of ſouls to be 1500, the proportion of deaths is as 1 to 81$\frac{1}{2}$.

Of the above number, 31 died before the end of the firſt year.

31	died before the end of the firſt year.
18	between 1 and 5 years.
9	5 and 10
15	10 and 20
24	20 and 30
13	30 and 40
16	40 and 50
12	50 and 60
16	60 and 70
14	70 and 80
10	80 and 90
6	90 and 100
184	

Farther deductions.

From the above, it appears that the proportion of thoſe who live 90 years and upwards is nearly as 1 to 30

90	nearly as	1 to 30
80		1 to 11
70		1 to 6
60	preciſely	1 to 4
50		1 to 3
40		1 to $2\frac{7}{8}$
30		1 to $2\frac{30}{77}$
20		1 to $2\frac{1}{11}$

Conſiderably more than one half of the above one hundred and eighty-four lived between 10 and 20 years.

The following table exhibits the number of inhabitants in Sandwich at four different periods.

In 1764	1449 inhabitants (including 73 Indians)
1776	1912
1790	1991
1800	2024

NOTE

NOTE ON FALMOUTH, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER, 1802.

FALMOUTH is ſituated in latitude 41°. 33′. N. and longitude 70°. 35′. W. from Greenwich. It is bounded on the north, by Sandwich; on the eaſt, by Maſhpee, from which it is ſeparated in part by Waquoit bay; on the ſouth, by Vineyard ſound; and on the weſt, by Buzzard's bay. The length, north and ſouth, is ten miles; and the breadth, eaſt and weſt, ſix. The diſtance of the principal meeting houſe from Boſton is ſeventy-eight miles.

A chain of hills, which is continued from Sandwich, runs on the weſt ſide of the townſhip, at no great diſtance from Buzzard's bay, and terminates at Woods' hole. The reſt of the land is remarkably level. The ſoil is thin, but ſuperiour in quality to the light lands in the eaſtern part of the county. It produces Indian corn, rye, oats, and a ſmall quantity of wheat and barley. More Engliſh hay is cut here than in any other townſhip of the county. The ſalt marſhes, when compared with thoſe of Barnſtable and Sandwich are not extenſive. They yield, however, about five hundred tons of hay.

A foreſt, conſiſting of pitch pines and a few oaks, is ſituated between the villages of Falmouth and Sandwich. One of the beſt roads in New England, it being hard, level, and free from ſtones, paſſes through it. A ſecond road branches from this, and leads through Maſhpee to Barnſtable. A third road turns off from the ſecond, and goes to Waquoit bay. Theſe roads, though not as good as the firſt, are better than the Cape roads in general. A fourth road which is rough and ſtony paſſes from Falmouth to Sandwich, by Pokeſſet meeting houſe, and on the weſt of the firſt. The road from the town to Woods' hole, which is at the diſtance of four miles, is alſo bad.

There are not leſs than forty ponds in the townſhip. Several of them are ſituated near the village and add variety and beauty to its proſpects.

Falmouth contains between two and three hundred dwelling houſes, eight mills, one of which is a fulling mill, and a number of ſhops and other buildings. The greateſt part of the houſes lie in one ſtreet along the Sound, are two ſtories* in height, large and well built, and conſtitute a pleaſant village, which commands a fine view of the water, and Martha's Vineyard beyond it. The Congregational meeting houſe, a new and neat edifice, ſtands in a handſome ſquare; and near it is a maſon's hall, with an apartment under it for an academy. Another Congregational meeting houſe has lately been erected at the diſtance of five miles from the town, for the accommodation of the inhabitants who live near it. There is, however, one church only, and one miniſter, who preaches in the latter houſe two ſundays in five. The Quakers alſo have a meeting houſe, which ſtands on the Pokeſſet road, not far from Chapoquit or Hog iſland harbour.

The mouth of Waquoit bay is very narrow, and is choaked with ſand; ſo that a ſmall coaſter, loaded, cannot enter it. Weſt of this bay the ſhore on the Sound is interſected by ſeveral ſmall rivers and ſalt water ponds; but none of them afford a harbour. Woods' hole, which is ſituated at the ſouth-weſtern extremity of the townſhip, is an excellent harbour, containing from three to ſix fathoms of water. It is not large, but is well ſheltered by points of land and Nonnymeſſet iſland. On the weſt ſide of the townſhip are ſeveral ſmall inlets, communicating with Buzzard's bay.

As Woods' hole is remote from the village, the inhabitants complain of the want of a good harbour near them It is in their power, with no great expenſe and labour, to obtain what they wiſh: for at the diſtance of not more than two or three hundred rods, weſt ſouth weſt from the meeting houſe, is a pond, a third of a mile in length, and ſixty fathoms deep: the neareſt part of this pond is about a quarter of a mile from the Sound; and if a communication was opened, it would form an excellent harbour.

Falmouth is a flouriſhing place. The inhabitants own about ſixty veſſels, containing, on a medium, fifty-five ton each. Six are fiſhing veſſels; of which two go to the Straits of Belle Iſle; and four catch fiſh on the Shoals. The reſt are coaſters: upwards of thirty of them follow the buſineſs of carrying lumber; and ſail to the Southern States and the Weſt-Indies.

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* By two ſtories, in New England, are meant apartments on ground floor, and apartments above them. A houſe of this deſcriptio is, in ſome parts of the world, if the writer miſtakes not, ſtyled a building of one ſtory only.

The following Table exhibits the ſtate of population in Falmouth at four different periods.

In 1764	1225 inhabitants (including 62 Indians.)
1776	1355
1790	1637
1800	1882.

r. s.

A DESCRIPTION OF DENNIS, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE, SEPTEMBER, 1802.

DENNIS is ſituated in latitude 41°. 45′. N. and longitude 70°. 08′. W. from Greenwich. It extends acroſs the county, having Barnſtable bay on the north, and Vineyard ſound on the ſouth. It is bounded on the eaſt by Harwich, from which it is ſeparated by Quivet creek, and by a line running from the creek ſouth, ſix degrees and a half eaſt, nine hundred and thirty-ſix chains (fifty links to a chain) to the Sound. On the weſt it is bounded by Yarmouth, from which it is ſeparated by Baſs river, Kelley's pond, and Follen's pond, communicating with the river, and by various lines beginning at Follen's pond, and terminating in a creek, called Chaſe Garden river, which runs through a ſalt marſh into Barnſtable bay. The length of the townſhip, from north to ſouth, is eleven hundred chains: the breadth on the north ſhore, from eaſt to weſt, a thouſand chains; on the ſouth ſhore, near ſix hundred; and in the narroweſt part, two hundred and fifty. The diſtance of the old meeting houſe from Boſton is eighty miles, and from Barnſtable court houſe eight.

The townſhip is naturally divided into two parts by a large tract of wood, which is chiefly in the centre. This wood conſiſts of a little white oak, of ſome red and black oak, but principally of pitch pine. The upper road to Harwich, which is called the County road, paſſes through the wood, near the head of Follen's pond, where it commands a pleaſant proſpect of part of Baſs river, and the new meeting houſe and flouriſhing village near it. Not far from this pond, eaſt, a road branches off to Chatham, leading through the ſouth precinct of Harwich. Theſe two roads, as far as they extend through Dennis, are ſandy and heavy; but they are not ſo bad as that which goes through the north part of the townſhip.

The wood is bounded on the north by a range of hills, a part of the chain, which extends from Sandwich to Pleaſant bay. In Dennis, theſe hills are a mile from the north ſhore; and on their ſummits there is a proſpect of the ſhore on Barnſtable bay, from Cape Cod to Monument Point in Plymouth, a compaſs of ſeventy or eighty miles. The view has not much of the beautiful in it; but it communicates a ſtrong emotion of the ſublime. North of the hills the land is uneven; but ſouth it is in general a plain.

A half of a mile eaſt of the old meeting houſe, the rough hill of Scargo extends from the chain. This is the higheſt land in the county, and is the firſt which is made by ſeamen approaching the ſouth ſhore.

The mouth of Chaſe Garden river is called Baſs Hole. It is ſhallow; but it affords a ſmall harbour, in which fiſhing veſſels can conveniently be laid up in the winter. The largeſt body of ſalt marſh in the townſhip is about this creek.

A mile north-eaſt of the old meeting houſe, a bend in the ſhore forms a cove, which is denominated the Bite. On the weſt of it runs a point of rocks, which is dry at low water, but the greateſt part of which is covered at high water. This point extends a quarter of a mile into the bay, north; and affords a ſhelter againſt north-weſt winds. A pier carried out to the eaſt of the Bite would form a convenient harbour. As however the banks are continually waſhing away, they ought to be ſecured by a ſea-wall.

Not far to the eaſtward of this place, nature has afforded to the inhabitants an opportunity of obtaining a ſtill better harbour. Crow's or Flax pond lies a quarter of a mile from the bay. It covers ſixty acres, and in the deepeſt part is not leſs than eleven fathoms. It is ſuppoſed by many that a canal of communication might eaſily be cut from this pond to the ſea. The canal would run near a quarter of a mile to the eaſt of the Bite. The digging would be principally through a ſwamp and low grounds; and a point of rocks, which lies off Suet Neck, and which is called Suet Neck Point, would in a great meaſure guard the entrance of the canal againſt the violence of north-eaſt ſtorms.

Suet Neck lies between the bay and Suet creek, the courſe of which is eaſt and north-eaſt to its mouth. Around it is a body of marſh. The ſandy flats, which lie in front of Harwich, Orleans, Eaſtham, and part of Wellfleet, begin at Suet.

Not far eaſt of this neck is that of Quivet, which is formed by the bay and Quivet creek. The courſe of the creek is north-eaſt to its entrance. About it is a body of ſalt marſh larger than that on Suet.

As the high land comes ſo near the north ſhore, it is evident that theſe two creeks cannot run a great diſtance. The mouths of both are obſtructed by bars, on which are about eight feet at high water, common tides. They afford however ſmall harbours for fiſhermen.

Beſide theſe creeks there are two brooks on the north ſhore. One empties into Hockanom creek in Yarmouth: the other falls into Quivet creek.

The moſt important inlet is on the ſouth ſhore. This is Baſs river, already mentioned as the boundary between Dennis and Yarmouth. The length of this river, from Follen's pond to the ſea, is four miles. Its mouth is formed by two beaches, terminating in points; one on the eaſt, extending from the entrance of Swan pond creek a mile and a half; another, on the weſt, extending, from the entrance of Parker's river in Yarmouth, a mile. From point to point the diſtance is about thirty-five rods.—Within, the river is ſomewhat wider for two miles, where it gradually grows narrow. At its entrance is a bar, on which are five feet only, at high water, common tides. Veſſels therefore muſt be lightened, before they can come into the harbour. Within, the river is ten or eleven feet deep at high water, for a ſhort diſtance. On the inſide of the firſt mentioned beach, within the limits of Dennis, is a body of ſalt marſh. Much of the water, which flows from the ſea, paſſes through the cuts which are in it; and thus the channel of the river is rendered leſs deep.

Beſide Follen's and Kelley's ponds, which have already been mentioned, there are other ſalt water ponds communicating with Baſs river on its eaſtern ſide, covering in the whole ſeventy acres. South of the new meeting houſe, on the ſame ſide of the river, is Grand cove, the extent of which is alſo ſeventy acres. Theſe ponds and coves are of more value to the inhabitants than the ſame quantity of land, as they are filled with fiſh, and their ſhores abound with clams. A ſmall brook, the only one in the ſouth part of Dennis, iſſues from a ſwamp, and empties itſelf into Baſs river on its eaſtern ſide.

On the weſtern ſide, Wear-mill brook riſes in Yarmouth, runs eaſt, and diſcharges itſelf into Follen's pond. This brook, the whole of which is in Yarmouth, is properly the head of Baſs river. From it, it is ſuppoſed, a canal might eaſily be cut into Yarmouth harbour, the intervening land being low, and the diſtance not great.*

A mile, eaſt ſouth eaſt from the mouth of Baſs river, begins a bar, called Dog-fiſh bar, which extends ſix miles weſt to Point Gammon in Yarmouth. It affords to veſſels which lie within it a harbour, called Deep hole. From the end of this bar, on which is a buoy, the courſe into the river is weſt north weſt. Half way between the river's mouth and the end of the bar ſtands a pier, thirty-ſeven feet long, and thirty-one broad, on which is a ſtore. There is good anchorage two cables' length eaſt of it, in twelve feet at low water. Common tides riſe here four feet.

Such is Baſs river: The harbour, which it affords might be improved by art. Mr. Sylvanus Crowell, who lives on the Yarmouth ſide, and who alſo built the pier, has endeavoured to confine the water of the river within the main channel, and to prevent it from flowing through the marſh on the eaſtern ſide; but his laudable attempts have hitherto failed of ſucceſs. Perſevering labour may perhaps in time effect the wiſhed for object.

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* See Vol. 3, p. 17. of Coll. Hiſt. Soc.

The only creek, which remains to be ſpoken of, is Swan pond creek, the head of which is Swan pond, covering a a hundred and twenty acres. On this creek is a body of ſalt marſh. Between it and the Sound is Crocker's neck, in the ſouth-eaſtern part of the townſhip. The creek is not deep; and being near Baſs river, will probably never become of much value.

The whole of the ponds in Dennis, including others, which are not of ſufficient importance to be particularly mentioned, cover four hundred and fifty-five acres.

Beſide theſe ponds there is a number of ſwamps, five or ſix of which have cedar in them. Several of theſe ſwamps are capable of being converted into good land.

The beſt land in Dennis lies on the bay, in and near Quivet and Suet necks, and in Nobſcuſſet, north-weſt of the old meeting houſe. With the exception of theſe and a few other ſmall ſpots, the ſoil of the townſhip is light and ſandy.

The light land produces not leſs than eight, and with manure, frequently as much as twenty buſhels of Indian corn on an acre; and, on an average, eight or ten buſhels of rye. The good land in the north part of the townſhip yields, with manure, about thirty buſhels of Indian corn, but rye not in a greater quantity than the light land. At preſent very little wheat is raiſed.

Thirty tons only of Engliſh hay are cut; but the marſhes afford ſufficient ſalt hay for the uſe of the inhabitants.

Sufficient butter is made for ſummer; alſo vegetables enough for the ſame ſeaſon are raiſed; but both butter for winter and many vegetables are imported. More onions however, grow than are conſumed by the inhabitants, a quantity being every year ſent to market.

There are ſeveral ſmall orchards of apples, moſt of which have lately been planted. The trees do not attain much height; and in bleak ſituations are liable to decay in a few years.

A tract of ground not larger than Dennis, with a ſoil ſo unproductive, would in an inland ſituation, be capable of ſupporting few inhabitants. But, when the cenſus was taken in 1800, there were found on it fourteen hundred ſouls. A great number of theſe perſons derive their ſubſiſtence from the ſea; and by the advantages which they enjoy, and their induſtry in improving them, are enabled to ſupply themſelves with all the neceſſaries, and many of the pleaſures of life.

Theſe inhabitants occupy a hundred and eighty-eight dwelling houſes; the greateſt part of which are neat and in good repair. On the north of the county road are eighty-eight of the houſes, thirty of which are two ſtories in height. They are divided into two villages by Scargo hill.

The village in the north-weſt quarter of the townſhip, ſituated between the hill and Yarmouth, is called Nobſcuſſet.* It conſiſts of fifty-two dwelling houſes and the old meeting houſe, a neat and convenient building without a ſteeple. Sumner's Lodge of free maſons, inſtituted the laſt year, have juſt erected near the meeting houſe a handſome edifice, forty feet by twenty, the upper apartment of which is a well finiſhed hall, and the lower apartment a ſchool room. Maſonry in this, and in the other towns of the county where lodges exiſt, is in good repute, the brethren being in general reſpectable both for their property and moral characters. There are alſo two windmills near the meeting houſe; five more mills being in other quarters of the townſhip. Belonging to this village are five ſail of fiſhermen and three coaſters, from thirty to forty tons. The lower road from Yarmouth to Harwich paſſes through Nobſcuſſet. It is deep and heavy; and there is little on the ſides of it to pleaſe the eye, the land appearing barren, and the wind having made great ravages on the hills which border the village.

The village of Suet† is ſituated between Scargo hill and Harwich. It contains thirty-ſix dwelling houſes, which ſtand on Suet and Quivet necks and the land adjacent; and belonging to it are five ſail of fiſhermen. When compared with Nobſcuſſet, it may be denominated a pleaſant village; but in compariſon with the village of Sandwich, there is little or no beauty in it. It is a flouriſhing place;

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* Or Nobſquaſſit. See Vol. 1. p. 197. Coll. Hiſt. Soc.

† Or Seſuet. See Vol. 1. p. 232. Coll. Hiſt. Soc.

and what contributes principally to its proſperity is its numerous and valuable ſalt works.

Within the courſe of the paſt thirty years frequent attempts have been made to manufacture marine ſalt from ſea water. During the late war with Great Britain, when this neceſſary article was ſcarce and dear, it was ſometimes produced, particularly in the county of Barnſtable, by boiling the ſalt water. But the ſalt obtained was impure; and as the operation was expenſive, it was diſcontinued at the peace. Several years ago, General Palmer, a worthy and enterpriſing gentleman, undertook to make ſalt by the ſun alone in the marſhes on Boſton neck, where the veſtiges of his works are ſtill to be ſeen. But as they were not covered from the rain, the attempt proved abortive. The only perſon who has been completely ſucceſsful in obtaining pure marine ſalt, by the rays of the ſun alone, without the aid of artificial heat, is Capt. John Sears of Suet.

In the year 1776, this ingenious ſeaman conſtructed a vat a hundred feet long and ten feet wide. Rafters were fixed over it; and ſhutters were contrived to move up and down, that the vat might be covered, when it rained, and expoſed to the heat of the ſun in fair weather. By this ſimple invention the rain was excluded, the water in the vat was gradually exhaled; and at length, to his inexpreſſible joy, Capt. Sears perceived the ſalt beginning to chryſtallize. His works however were leaky; and he had ſuch bad ſucceſs in his operations the firſt year, that he was able to obtain no more than eight buſhels of ſalt. He was expoſed beſides to the ridicule of his neighbours, who ſcoffed at his invention, ſtyling it Sears's Folly.

Capt. Sears perſevered. The ſecond year the works were made tight; and thirty buſhels of ſalt were obtained. In this and the third year the ſalt water was poured into the vat from buckets; a tedious and painful operation.

In the fourth year a pump was introduced: it was worked by hand, which was ſtill great labour. This method of conveying the ſalt water into the vat continued to be practiſed till the year 1785, when at the ſuggeſtion of Major Nathaniel Freeman of Harwich, who had ſeen at a diſtance a ſimilar conſtruction, Capt. Sears contrived a pump to be worked by the wind. By this lucky invention the labour was greatly abridged.

Covers to move on ſhives, that is, rollers or ſmall wheels, ſuch as are contained in the blocks of ſhips, were invented by Mr. Reuben Sears, a carpenter of Harwich, in 1793. Theſe covers are ſhaped like the roof of a barn, or what is commonly ſtyled a gable roof. The ſhive, which is placed under the cover, rolls over a narrow piece of plank fixed acroſs the vat; and the motion is farther facilitated by ſhives moving on each ſide of the ſame ſlip of plank horizontally, the firſt mentioned ſhive moving perpendicularly. When the cover is drawn off, which can be done without a great exertion of ſtrength, it reſts on a frame placed by the ſide of the vat.

In 1798, Mr. Hattil Kelley of Dennis contrived another mode of conſtructing the vats and moving the covers. By Mr. Sears they are placed in a ſtring, or direct line; but by Mr. Kelley they are placed like the ſquares of a cheſs-board. Two black ſquares will repreſent the firſt and ſecond vats. At the point where their angles touch is fixed a crane, conſiſting of a perpendicular beam, ſupporting a horizontal beam. From each half of the laſt beam is ſuſpended a cover, ſhaped like a hipped roof, that is, a roof compoſed of four triangles, riſing from each of the four ſides, and meeting in a point at the top. The third vat will be repreſented by the white ſquare, which is in a line with the ſecond black ſquare of the cheſs-board: and the fourth vat, by the white ſquare, the angle of which touches it. At this point is fixed a ſecond crane; and ſo the vats and cranes are continued to any extent the proprietor chooſes. By theſe cranes the covers are moved with great eaſe. It is a ſubject of diſpute, which is the beſt invention, Sears's or Kelley's: experience only can decide the point.

Capt. Sears was greatly aſſiſted in the invention and improvement of the works by Capt. William Crowell, Capt. Chriſtopher Crowell, and Capt. Edward Sears of Dennis. Theſe perſons reſigning to him their right and title to the invention, he applied to the national government for a patent, which he obtained in 1799.

Such is the account which Capt. Sears himſelf gives. It is now alleged by ſeveral perſons, that he has not made a new diſcovery; and conſequently has no right to a patent. But whatever may be thought of Capt. Sears's merit as an inventor, there can be no diſpute that he is entitled to applauſe for firſt introducing an important manufacture, by which he has contributed greatly to the proſperity of the village in which he reſides, and to that of the county at large; and which will probably in the event be productive of laſting advantages to Maſſachuſetts, and to the United States in general.

The ſalt works in their preſent ſtate may be briefly deſcribed as follows. The bottom of the vats is conſtructed of boards; and the ſides of plank; and they reſt on frames, which are ſupported by ſmall piles. Theſe vats are divided into three or four rooms, the ſecond falling three or four inches below the firſt, and the third as much below the ſecond, and ſo on. A pipe, which runs under ground, and which communicates with the ſea, conveys the ſalt water into a well about four feet deep. In this well is fixed a pump, which is connected, by means of a ſpout, with the firſt vat, called the water room. In this vat, which is longer than any of the others, much filth is depoſited. After a proper time the water is drawn off into the ſecond vat, called the pickle room, in which calcareous matter, or lime, is depoſited. If there are four vats, the third is named the lime room. In this vat, or in the ſecond, when there are no more than three, a pellicle of ſalt begins to gather on the ſurface of the water, lime is plentifully depoſited, and the pickle is drawn off into the laſt vat, called the ſalt room, in which only the cryſtals are permitted to be formed.* The vats are nine or ten inches deep. In dry weather, during the ſummer, with a north wind, the evaporation is a third of an inch in a day. The ſalt produced reſembles Liſbon ſalt, but is purer, is ſtrong, and free from lime. The mean weight of a buſhel of it is eighty pounds.

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* It was the writer's intention to have given a more minute deſcription of the ſalt works; but diſcovering that Dr. James Thatcher of Plymouth had anticipated him, in a paper preſented to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, he with pleaſure foregoes the taſk, referring the reader, who wiſhes to obtain complete information, to the valuable memoir of that gentleman.

During the winter the Glauber ſalt, ſaid to be of an excellent quality, cryſtallizes. No great quantity of Epſom ſalt and magneſia has yet been produced. The Rev. Mr. Briggs of Chatham, an induſtrious and ingenious chemiſt, has however ſucceeded in obtaining both; and though his magneſia is not perfectly white, his Epſom ſalt appears to be incapable of improvement.

As the vat firſt conſtructed by Capt. Sears was ten feet wide, in eſtimating the dimenſions of ſalt works, it has become cuſtomary to adopt the language which was then introduced. A foot therefore intends ten ſquare feet. Three hundred ſuch feet are calculated to produce a hundred buſhels of marine ſalt, and four hundred and fifty pounds of Glauber ſalt, in a year. The coſt of a foot, three years ago, was a dollar; but it will amount at preſent to as much as a hundred and twenty, or even a hundred and fifty cents. The marine ſalt is worth ſeventy-five cents a buſhel, and the Glauber ſalt one ſixteenth of a dollar a pound. The value of the Epſom ſalt and magneſia is not eſtimated, as the quantity which may be obtained is unknown. From theſe data and the following table, the great importance of this new manufacture to the county of Barnſtable will appear.

		No. of works.		*No. of feet.*
In Suet	are	24	containing	19,500
Nobſcuſſet		23		14,300
Yarmouth		4		16,630
Barnſtable		14		11,717
Sandwich		4		2,702
Falmouth		4		1,900
Harwich		21		18,600
Chatham		6		11,500
Orleans		11		3,080
Eaſtham		12		9,100
Wellfleet		2		180
Truro		1		700
Provincetown		10		11,404
Total		136		121,313

Calculated to manufacture in a year forty thouſand, four hundred, and thirty-eight buſhels of marine ſalt; and one hundred and eighty-one thouſand, nine hundred and ſixty-nine pounds of Glauber ſalt; worth, in the whole, forty-one thouſand, ſeven hundred dollars.

In the enſuing year, will be erected, in the county of Barnſtable, twenty thouſand, five hundred and ſeventy-eight feet of additional works. Theſe are all intended; and for many of them contracts are actually made. What additions there will be in future years, it is impoſſible to foreſee; but they will undoubtedly be great. Without the limits of the county of Barnſtable, the manufacture is already eſtabliſhed in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, Plymouth, Kingſton, Rocheſter, Hingham, Dorcheſter, and probably in other places, from which the author has not heard. Few of theſe works have exiſted more than two or three years.

But it is time to conclude the deſcription of Dennis. On the ſouth ſide of the county road are a hundred dwelling houſes; two of which only are two ſtories in height. The greateſt part of theſe houſes are ſituated near Baſs river, and conſtitute a well-built village, the inhabitants of which are increaſing in wealth and population. In the year 1795, they erected an elegant meeting houſe, with a ſteeple; but they continue their connexion with the pariſh, the miniſter of which preaches here one ſunday in three. There is beſides a ſmall Quaker meeting houſe, ſituated on the eaſt ſide of Follen's pond. Five families only in Dennis belong to it; but it is attended by a few Friends from Yarmouth and Harwich. There are alſo thirteen families of Baptiſts in this village. The reſt of the inhabitants, in every part of the townſhip, are Congregationaliſts, who are warmly attached to their paſtor, and not diſpoſed to change.

There are no ſalt works yet in Baſs river village; but it is expected that ſeveral will ſoon be erected. The inhabitants own nineteen ſail of fiſhermen of about forty tons burthen each, and four coaſters. Three ſmall wharves have been built on this eaſtern ſide of the river.

Dennis enjoys the advantage of a great variety and plenty of fiſh in common with the other towns in the county. There are ſea perch in Baſs river. Baſs enter this river in November, and remain there, and in Follen's pond through the winter. Eels may be caught in all the creeks ; but they are found in the greateſt abundance in Follen's pond and Baſs river. In the ſame pond and in Wear-mill brook, about a hundred barrels of alewives are taken in a year. Clams are plenty, particularly on the ſouth ſhore, where quahaugs alſo are found, and a few good oyſters. Sufficient clam bait for the fiſhing veſſels is collected in the river : and about fifty barrels are annually ſold.

On the north ſhore there are wild fowls ; but they are not as plenty as in Chatham.

The climate is healthful. Bilious and nervous diſorders, rheumatiſm, and pulmonary conſumption are the moſt common diſeaſes.

A bill of mortality has not been obtained ; but the following table exhibits the number of marriages from March 1794 to March 1802.

1794	12	1798	14
1795	17	1799	23
1796	18	1800	22
1797	32	1801	14
		Total	152

The hiſtory of Dennis is ſhort. In the year 1721, the eaſt part of Yarmouth was ſet off as a precinct* ; and June 19. 1793, it was incorporated into a town.

The church was gathered, and the firſt paſtor, Rev. Joſiah Dennis, was ordained, June 22d. 1727. Mr. Dennis died Auguſt 31ſt. 1763, in the ſixty-ninth year of his age. The inhabitants have manifeſted their reſpect to his memory by naming their town after him.

The preſent paſtor, Rev. Nathan Stone, was ordained October 17th. 1764. *Vir humilis, mitis, blandus, advenarum hoſpes ; ſuis commodis in terrâ non ſtudens, reconditis theſauris in cœlo.* *r. s.*

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* Vol. 5. p. 54. Coll. Hiſt. Soc.

NOTE ON THE SOUTH PARTS OF YARMOUTH AND BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER, 1802.

ON the Yarmouth ſide of Baſs river there are ſix wharves, three near the mouth of the river, and three a mile north of it. There are here twenty-one veſſels. One brig ſails immediately to the Weſt-Indies. Ten coaſters, from thirty to forty tons burden, ſail to Boſton, Connecticut, or the Southern States, and thence to the Weſt-Indies. The other ten veſſels are fiſhermen. One is of a hundred tons: the reſt are from forty to ſeventy tons. The fiſhing veſſels go to the ſtraits of Belle-Iſle, the ſhoals of Nova Scotia, or Nantucket ſhoals. On a medium, a fiſhing veſſel uſes ſeven hundred buſhels of ſalt in a year. One or two veſſels are annually built on Baſs river, chiefly on the weſtern ſide.

In Lewis's bay in Yarmouth, there are four coaſters, of about forty-five tons each, and ten ſail of fiſhermen, from forty-five to fifty tons: They catch fiſh on the coaſt, from Nantucket ſhoals to Nova Scotia.

On the Barnſtable ſide of Lewis's bay there are nine ſail of fiſhermen, of about forty tons each, which alſo fiſh on the ſame coaſt; likewiſe four coaſters, of about forty-five tons each.

At Oyſter Iſland there is one fiſhing veſſel of forty tons, and eight coaſters of about forty-five tons each.

Theſe facts, in addition to thoſe which have been already, and which will hereafter be, mentioned in this volume, ſhow the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of the ſouth ſhore of the county of Barnſtable, a part of Maſſachuſetts not often viſited, and little known. *r. s.*

NOTE ON THE SOUTH PRECINCT OF HARWICH, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER, 1802.

THE ſouth precinct of Harwich, which is ſituated between Dennis and Chatham, is naturally ſeparated from the north precinct by woods and ponds. The land is level and ſandy. On this part of the coaſt there is neither a harbour nor a creek, into which veſſels can enter. The only ſhelter that they have, is a bar, which lies the length of the precinct, two thirds of a mile from the ſhore. On this bar are from ſeven to nine feet of water, in common tides. North of it the depth is nine feet at full ſea; but there are many holes, in which the water is a little deeper. Fifteen or twenty veſſels, containing on an average forty tons each, and about half of them owned in the precinct, are employed in the ſhoal fiſhery on the coaſt. Four veſſels of a hundred tons each, which go to the banks of Newfoundland and the Straits of Belle Iſle, ſail alſo from this place, and obtain their men here. The whole number of men and boys engaged in the cod-fiſhery is about two hundred; but ſeveral of them ſail from Chatham, Baſs river, and the north precinct. Two miles and a half, weſt of the Chatham line, there is a ſalt water pond, twenty feet deep, and a hundred and eighty rods in circumference. It is not more than two hundred yards from the ſhore, in which part there is one of the deep holes. About half the year the ſea flows into the pond; and a ſmall boat can then enter it. At an inconſiderable expenſe, perhaps ten thouſand dollars, this pond might be converted into a ſafe and convenient harbour.

It is remarkable, that not long after marine ſalt began to be made in Dennis, by the ſun alone, Mr. Amiel Weeks of this precinct, without the knowledge of Capt. Sears's invention, conſtructed a vat, about eight feet long, and ſix wide, from twelve to fourteen inches deep, and with a cover to exclude the rain. In this vat he manufactured ſalt for his own conſumption; and continued the practice a number of years. The water was brought a mile, the ſalt was very impure, and no improvement was made in the firſt eſſay. *r. s.*

A DESCRIPTION OF CHATHAM, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER, 1802.

CHATHAM lies in latitude 41°. 42′. N. and longitude 69°. 56′. W. from Greenwich. The length of the townſhip, eaſt and weſt, excluſive of the harbour, is four miles; and the breadth, north and ſouth, from two miles to four. It is bounded eaſt by the ocean; ſouth, by Vineyard Sound; weſt and north-weſt, by Harwich; and north by Pleaſant bay, which ſeparates it from Orleans. The diſtance of the meeting houſe from Boſton is ninety-three miles; from Barnſtable court houſe, twenty miles; and from the meeting houſe in the north pariſh of Harwich, eight miles.

The townſhip conſiſts of hills and ridges, with narrow vallies, ſmall depreſſions, ponds, and ſwamps between them. As the hills are nearly of the ſame height, and the vallies at a ſhort diſtance are not perceived, the land appears like an elevated plain. Great Hill which is a third of a mile eaſt of the meeting houſe, towers above the reſt of the townſhip. This is the firſt land made by ſeamen coming on this part of the coaſt. From its two ſummits there is an extenſive proſpect; and even Nantucket is viſible, when the land looms. The tops of the ridges and ſmaller hills alſo command a fine view of the ſea.

There are two principal roads in Chatham; the firſt, leading through the ſouth precinct of Harwich, to Barnſtable; the other, to the north precinct of Harwich. From this ſecond road branches a third, which paſſes through Orleans to Cape Cod. Theſe roads are ſandy; but they are better than thoſe of Wellfleet or Truro.

Few towns in the county are ſo well provided with harbours as Chatham. The firſt and moſt important is on the eaſtern ſide of the town, and is called Old harbour. It is formed by a narrow beach, which completely guards it againſt the ocean. The haven on the weſtern ſide of this beach is extenſive; but the harbour of Chatham is ſuppoſed to reach not farther north than Strong iſland, a diſtance of about four miles. Above that the water, which is within the limits of Harwich and Orleans, is known by other names. The breadth of the harbour is about three quarters of a mile. Its entrance, a quarter of a mile wide, is formed by the point of the beach, and James' head eaſt of it on the main land. On the inſide of the beach are flats and ſalt marſh. There is alſo a piece of marſh on the ſouthern part of Strong iſland. Theſe marſhes are covered during every tide.

There are no rocks either within or near the harbour; but its mouth is obſtructed by bars, which extend eaſt and ſouth-eaſt ſouth-eaſt of the point of the beach three quarters of a mile. On each ſide of this mouth is a breaker; one called the North; and the other, the South breaker. There are alſo ſeveral bars in the harbour within the outer bars. Theſe bars are continually ſhifting: the cauſes of which are ſtorms, and a ſtrong current, which ſets in and out of the harbour. At low water there are ſeven feet on the outer bars, common tides riſing about ſix feet. North of them the ſhore is bolder. There is good holding ground in the harbour. At the entrance the bottom is ſandy. Farther in there is a muddy bottom. The depth at low water is about twenty feet.

Not only do the bars alter, but the mouth of the harbour alſo is perpetually varying. At preſent it is gradually moving ſouthward by the addition of ſand to the point of the beach. The beach has thus been extended, above a mile, within the courſe of the paſt forty years.

In the year 1626, there was an entrance into Monamoyick harbour, oppoſite Potanumaquut, ſix miles north of the preſent mouth. The ſhip mentioned by Prince* came in here, and was ſtranded on the beach, where its ruins were to be ſeen about twenty years ago. This part of the beach ſtill bears the name of the Old ſhip. The entrance has been cloſed for many years. Several paſſages into the harbour have been opened and ſhut ſince that time. At a late period, there were two openings into the haven; one of which, that which now exiſts, was ſtyled the Old harbour; and the other, the New harbour.† Though the mouth of the New harbour is entirely choked up with ſand, yet the name, Old harbour, is ſtill retained.

It is not eaſy to give directions for ſailing into ſo inconſtant a port. None but a pilot, who is well acquainted with its yearly variations, can guide in a veſſel with ſafety. On a ſignal's being made, however, boats are ready to put off from the ſhore, to yield aſſiſtance. In a north-eaſt ſtorm, in which a pilot cannot leave the land, a veſſel, by getting to the ſouth of the South breaker, may at preſent ride with ſafety. But how long this will be true, it is impoſſible to ſay.

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* Annals, p. 163. See alſo Morton's Memorial, p. 89. A. D. 1627.

† See Des Barres' accurate chart of the coaſt.

The principal buſineſs of the town is done near Old harbour. To this it is well ſuited, not only by its proximity to the ocean, its ſuperiour extent, but alſo by the convenient coves and creeks, with which its weſtern ſhore is indented, bringing a härbour within a ſhort diſtance of every man's door. The names of the principal, or of the points which form them, follow. South of Harwich line is Monameſſet neck, which is bounded on the north by Pleaſant bay : the eaſt end of it is oppoſite Strong iſland. South of this neck is Eldridge point. Between the point and neck is ſituated Crowell bay. South of Eldridge point is Eldridge cove. South-eaſt of this cove is Covel's river, a ſalt water creek, at the head of which is a ſmall body of marſh. Eaſt of Covel's river is Muſcle point ; ſouth-eaſt of Muſcle point is Nickerſon's point ; and ſouth of Nickerſon's point is Morris's cove, which is ſeparated from the harbour by Little beach.

Not far ſouth from James' head commences a long beach, the extremity of which at preſent is called Sandy point ; but in ancient maps, Cape Malebarre. As there is alſo a Sandy point in Nantucket, to prevent confuſion, the old name ought to be revived. This beach is deſcribed in another part of the volume.* The following particulars are added here. Stewart's Knoll is ſo denominated from a perſon of that name, who forty or fifty years ſince kept a tavern on it, for the accommodation of ſeamen making a harbour on the weſtern ſide of the beach. The houſe ſtood at no great diſtance from the point, though at preſent the knoll is at leaſt four miles from it. In the valley which is ſouth of it, and which has been gained from the ſea, there is a doubtful appearance of a ſoil's beginning to be formed. It is ſtyled *doubtful*, becauſe it would not be obſerved by every eye, and perhaps not acknowledged by many. Beach graſs, the beach pea†, beach ivy, and the ſeveral

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[*] See Deſcription of the Eaſtern Coaſt of the County of Barnſtable, p. 117.

[†] A young gentleman, a native of Truro, has communicated to the author the following note on the beach pea.

" Piſum maritimum. (Lin. 870.) With. p. 629. V. 3. Petioles flattiſh above : ſtem angular : ſtipules arrow ſhaped : fruit ſtalks many flowered. Whole plant, excepting the upper ſurface of the leaves, ſlightly ſeveral other vegetables, which obtain nouriſhment amidſt the minute fragments of ſtone which conſtitute ſand, grow here luxuriantly. The roots of plants, which have grown here in paſt years, ſeem to have rotted by the frequent rains that have fallen on them; and a ſolitary pine, which is not yet two feet high, has already found its way hither. Perhaps the whole beach, if untrodden by the feet of man and beaſt, would at the end of a few centuries be covered with wood, and in time with vegetable mould.

On the weſtern ſide of this beach there are pieces of ſalt marſh, the greateſt part of which are around Morris's iſland and weſt of it. As the wind is perpetually driving the ſand over them, they are diminiſhing every year.—Whilſt the marſh is waſting in one place, it is true that ſpots are gradually forming in others. But, on the whole, it loſes more than it gains: formerly it was ſo extenſive, that a hundred and fifty tons of hay were annually cut on it; but at preſent it does not yield more than ſixty tons.

Morris's iſland was once ſurrounded by water; and the paſſage between it and the beach was a quarter of a mile wide, in the year 1752. The ſtrait was gradually filled up, and has been entirely cloſed above thirty years. Whilſt this junction has been making, the beach has waſted on its eaſtern ſide; ſo that now the iſland, as it is ſtill denominated, is nearer to the ocean, than it was formerly to the eaſtern ſide of the ſtrait. At the ſame period there was, from

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ſlightly downy: root creeping ſtriking deep in the earth. Leaves numerous alternate: Flowers towards the end of the fruit ſtalks, crowded, on ſhort pedicles. Bloſſoms pale red and purple.

Sea pea. Sea ſhores. Flowers in Auguſt.

(Found by Mr. Stackhouſe on the ſharp ridge running from Portland Iſland to Bridport, amongſt looſe pebbles, about fifteen or twenty feet above high water mark, &c.) (With. p. 630. V. 3.)

"In 1555, during a time of great ſcarcity, the people about Orford in Suſſex were preſerved from periſhing by eating the ſeeds of this plant, which grew there in great abundance upon the ſea coaſt. Cows, horſes, ſheep, and goats eat it.

"Dr. Cutler deſcribes this as a plant of New England (in Memoirs Am. Acad. Vol. 1. p. 472.) So that I think there is no doubt of its being the ſame that grows on the ſandy beaches of Cape Cod."

That the ſeeds of the beach pea are edible, is the opinion of ſeveral perſons in the county of Barnſtable; but the author cannot learn that any of them have ever made the experiment.

from Old harbour into Stage harbour, a paſſage, through which veſſels might ſail, the beach being then an iſland; but for above thirty years it has joined the main land.

Another change has taken place in this voluble maſs of ſand. In the year 1770, during a violent ſtorm, the ſea ruſhed through the beach. But by degrees the breach then made was filled up with ſand, and in two years was completely cloſed.*

On the weſt ſide of Cape Malebarre, in the ſouth part of Chatham, is another harbour, called Stage harbour; which is about a mile long, and a half of a mile wide. The entrance into it, which is about a quarter of a mile in breadth, is between Morris's iſland and Harding's beach or neck, which runs from the weſt. It is barred, there being not more than eight feet in the mouth at high water, common tides riſing here four feet; but within there are twenty feet at low water. The anchorage is good, on a muddy bottom. This, as well as Old harbour, is completely land locked.

Oyſter pond, about three quarters of a mile long, and a half of a mile broad, communicates with Stage harbour by Oyſter pond river. There are ſix feet of water in this river at high tides; and veſſels which draw five feet only can go into the pond.

North-eaſt of Stage harbour, and communicating with it by Mitchel's river, is Mill cove. Connected with the cove is Mill pond, on which is a piece of ſalt marſh. Eaſt of Mill cove is Tom's neck.

There is good anchorage for large veſſels on the outſide of Stage harbour, ſouth of Harding's beach, cloſe to the ſhore, oppoſite a bunch of pines.

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* The following remarkable fact of the ſame kind is related by a reſpectable writer.

"When the Engliſh firſt ſettled upon the Cape, there was an iſland off Chatham, at three leagues diſtance, called Webb's iſland, containing twenty acres, covered with red cedar or ſavin. The inhabitants of Nantucket uſed to carry wood from it. This iſland has been wholly worn away for almoſt a century. A large rock, that was upon the iſland, and which ſettled as the earth waſhed away, now marks the place: it riſes as much above the bottom of the ſea, as it uſed to riſe above the ſurface of the ground. The water is ſix fathoms deep on this ſpot."
Maſſ. Mag. Vol. 3. p. 151.

A mile and a half weſt of Stage harbour is Cockle cove river; navigable for flat boats only, and communicating with a ſalt pond north of it. On it is a ſmall body of ſalt marſh.

Weſt is Tumblen's cove, which alſo communicates with a ſalt pond, named by the Indians Matchapoxet. This cove is very ſhoal.

Proceeding ſtill weſt is Red river, a ſmall ſtream, navigable by boats only, forming the boundary between Chatham and Harwich. On both ſides of it is ſalt marſh. Theſe inlets are not far aſunder, Red river being not more than a mile from Cockle cove.

Beſide the ſalt water ponds which have been mentioned, there are not leſs than thirty ponds of freſh water. Fiſh are plenty in them; but not being as highly eſteemed as thoſe which are caught in the ſea, they are not much uſed. Their bottoms in general are ſandy; and they ſupply thoſe, who live near them, with good water. There are alſo many ſprings of excellent water, though there are no brooks. Soft water is obtained from the wells, few of which are more than twelve feet deep.

There is a number of ſmall ſwamps, ſeveral of which have been cleared, and converted into paſtures and meadows. From theſe ſwamps, within the paſt five years, conſiderable quantities of peat have been dug.

Not a fruit tree grows in Chatham; and not more than ſixty-five acres of woodland are left. It is ſituated near the line of Harwich, and conſiſts principally of pitch pine. The greateſt part of the fuel, which is conſumed, is brought from the diſtrict of Maine; and coſts at preſent about ſeven dollars a cord. Five cords of wood are conſidered as a ſufficient yearly ſtock for a family.

The ſoil of the townſhip is in general ſandy and free from ſtones. There is good land, however, near Oyſter pond and the coves. Very little Engliſh hay is cut; but the marſhes yield ſalt hay enough for the uſe of the inhabitants. Butter is made in ſummer; but butter for winter and cheeſe are procured from Connecticut, Rhode-Iſland, and Boſton. Beef and proviſions of all kinds for the fiſhermen are brought from the laſt mentioned place. Not more than half enough Indian corn for the conſumption of the inhabitants is raiſed: the average produce to an acre is twelve buſhels. Rye, the average produce of which is ſix buſhels, is raiſed in the ſame proportion. Thirty years ago a ſmall quantity of wheat was grown; but at preſent it is wholly neglected. There are many good gardens, in which a ſufficient quantity of roots and herbs are produced. The mode of huſbandry is in general ſimilar to that which is practiſed in Truro.* Materials for manure might be procured in plenty by thoſe, who live near the ſhore. Attention of late begins to be paid to this article. As the land, particularly in the centre and ſouth part of the townſhip, is every year growing worſe, by the drifting of the ſand, there is little to encourage agricultural induſtry. The inhabitants, having to purſue other objects, which they deem more important, do not avail themſelves of all the advantages that they poſſeſs for the improvement of their grounds. Beſide ſea weed and the king crab on their ſhores, there are alſo ſpots which contain clay,† a well known fertilizer of a ſandy ſoil. But huſbandry is purſued with little ſpirit, the people in general paſſing the flower of their lives at ſea, which they do not quit till they are fifty years of age, leaving at home none but the old men and ſmall boys to cultivate the ground.

A few of the young and middle aged men are engaged in mercantile voyages, and ſail from Boſton; but the great body of them are fiſhermen. Twenty-five ſchooners, from twenty-five to ſeventy tons, are employed in the cod-fiſhery. They are partly owned in Boſton and other places, but principally in Chatham. About one half of them fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland; the reſt on Nantucket ſhoals, the ſhores of Nova Scotia, and in the ſtraits of Belle-Iſle. On board theſe ſchooners are about two hundred men and boys, moſt of whom are inhabitants of Chatham; and they catch one year with another ſeven or eight hundred quintals to a veſſel. Beſide theſe fiſhing veſſels, there are belonging to the town five coaſters, which ſail to Carolina and the Weſt Indies.

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* See Vol. 3. p. 198. Coll. Hiſt. Soc.

† Bricks are ſeldom made in Chatham.

Fiſh are plenty on the coaſt. In addition to thoſe, which are enumerated in the deſcription of Truro, are the ſheep's head, drummer, ſhad, and tautaug.

Shell fiſh are found in great abundance on the ſhores, particularly quahaugs and clams. Great quantities of bait are dug for the uſe of the fiſhermen. There are excellent oyſters in Oyſter pond; but they are ſcarce and dear, ſelling for a dollar a buſhel.

In no part of the county can wild fowls be obtained in ſuch plenty and variety.

Food can ſo eaſily be procured, either on the ſhores or in the ſea, that with the profit which ariſes from their voyages, in which it muſt be confeſſed they labour very hard, the people are enabled to cover their tables well with proviſions. A breakfaſt among the inhabitants, and even among thoſe who are called the pooreſt, for there are none who are really poor, conſiſts of tea or coffee, brown bread, generally with butter, ſometimes without, and ſalt or freſh fiſh, fried or broiled. A dinner affords one or more of the following diſhes: roots and herbs; ſalted beef or pork boiled; freſh butcher's meat not more than twelve times a year; wild fowl frequently in the autumn and winter; freſh fiſh boiled or fried with pork; ſhell fiſh; ſalt fiſh boiled; indian pudding, pork baked with beans. Tea or coffee alſo frequently conſtitutes a part of the dinner. A ſupper conſiſts of tea or coffee and fiſh as at breakfaſt, cheeſe, cakes made of flour, gingerbread, and pies of ſeveral ſorts. This bill of fare will ſerve with little variation for all the fiſhing towns in the county. In many families there is no difference between the breakfaſt and ſupper; cheeſe, cakes, and pies being as common at the one as at the other.

Chatham contains more inhabitants in proportion to its extent, than any other townſhip in the county: by the cenſus of 1800, there were thirteen hundred and fifty-one ſouls; and they have increaſed a little ſince that time. The number of dwelling houſes, as returned in the valuation of the laſt year, is an hundred and fifty-eight. They are ſmall, four only being two ſtories in height. The meeting houſe, near the centre of the townſhip, is in good repair. There are five ſchools, in which reading, writing, and arithmetick are taught to children of both ſexes: education is encouraged. The other buildings are a rope-walk, a tan-houſe, a number of barns, and ſix windmills.

The inhabitants are very induſtrious. The women are engaged in the domeſtick employments and manufactures uſual in other parts of Maſſachuſetts, and a number of them in curing fiſh at the flake yards.

Fogs are more frequent in Chatham than in any other part of the county; and they ſerve in ſummer, inſtead of trees, to ſhelter the houſes againſt the heat of the ſun. To thoſe who delight in extenſive viſion, they are unpleaſant; but they are not found to be unhealthful. The air of the townſhip is juſtly regarded as very ſalubrious: one proof of which is, that there is not ſufficient employment for a phyſician. Epidemick diſtempers, it is true, have ſometimes viſited the place; but not more frequently than other towns in the county. In the year 1764 the ſmall-pox carried off a great number of perſons.

Monamoy*, as the ſettlement was during many years denominated, is one of the original plantations of the county, not being formed out of other towns. April 10th. 1665, William Nickerſon bought of John Quaſon, alias Towſowet, ſachem of Monamoy, a tract of land near Potanumaquut; bounded eaſt by the Great harbour; ſouth by a line, which extends weſt by ſouth into the woods, from Wequaſet to a pine tree† marked upon four ſides; and north by a line extending to the farther head of a pond, to a place called Porchcommock. June 19th. 1672, Mattaquaſon and John Quaſon, ſachems of Monnamoiet, for the conſideration of one ſhallop, ten coats of trucking cloth, ſix kettles, twelve axes, twelve hoes, twelve knives, forty ſhillings in wampum, a hat, and twelve ſhillings in money,—ſold to the ſame William Nickerſon a tract of land and meadows at Monnamoiet, at the weſt ſide of Muddy cove, and extending ſoutherly to Matchapoxet pond, and thence by a creek to the ſea; and extending eaſterly to Oyſter pond.[*] Again, March 29th. 1678,[†] Auguſt 16th. 1682, and at divers other times, he purchaſed lands and meadows of the Indians.

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* So is the name pronounced at preſent; but in ancient books and records it is written Monnamoiet, or Monamoyick.

† Near the cart way, which goes from Chatham to Saukatucket mill in Harwich.

In the year 1665, Thomas Hinkley, John Freeman, Nathaniel Bacon, and their partners, obtained from the colony court of Plymouth the grant of a right to purchaſe, of the natives, land at Monnamoiet and places adjacent. This interfered with the property of Nickerſon, who had made ſeveral of his purchaſes without previouſly procuring ſuch a grant, which was neceſſary to render his title valid. But on the 3d. of July, 1672, Hinkley and his aſſociates, for a valuable conſideration, conveyed to Nickerſon their grant, and all the lands which they had bought in conſequence of it. This made his title good; and it was afterwards confirmed to his heirs by the legiſlature.[‡]

After the ſettlement of the village or diſtrict of Monamoy, which appears to have been not long after the purchaſes were made, it was conſidered as one of the towns in the colony; for in June, 1686, it was ordered to chooſe a grand-juryman[§]; and on the 11th. of February, 1691, liberty was granted to its inhabitants to elect and ſend a deputy to the general court.[‖] In the enſuing March the bounds of the village were enlarged. This was the laſt act of the colony court of Plymouth reſpecting it.[¶]

It was incorporated into a townſhip, by the legiſlature of Maſſachuſetts, and its name altered to that of Chatham, June 11th. 1712.

Eight years after the incorporation, the inhabitants had become ſo numerous as to be able to ſupport a ſettled miniſter of the goſpel. No particular account, however, of their numbers can be obtained till the year 1764. From the cenſus which was then taken, it appears that there were a hundred and five dwelling houſes, a hundred and twenty-ſeven families, and ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſeven ſouls; but it is remarkable, that though above five hundred Indians remained in the county, yet not one was left in Chatham.* From comparing the cenſus of 1764 with that of 1800, it appears that the number of the inhabitants has doubled in thirty-eight years. That it has not increaſed more is owing to the frequent emigrations which have been made during this period.

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[*] Plymouth Records, Lib. 12. Fol. 251.

[†] Plym. Rec. Lib. 16. Fol. 463.

[‡] The family of Nickerſon is one of the moſt numerous in the county; and a number of the name remain in Chatham.

[§] At a colony court held at Plymouth in June, 1686, Plymouth was ordered by ſaid court to chooſe three grand-jurymen; Duxborough two; Scituate four; Marſhfield three; Bridgewater two; Middleborough one; Barnſtable three; Yarmouth three; Sandwich three; Eaſtham three; Monnamoiet one; Succoneſſet one; Sippecan one; Briſtol three; Taunton three; Rehoboth three; Dartmouth two; Swanzey two; Little Compton one: Freetown one. Plym. Rec. Lib. N. Fol. 1.

[‖] Plym. Rec. Lib. N. Fol. 52.

[¶] Plym. Rec. Lib. N. Fol. 56.

In the year 1774, Chatham had become ſo flouriſhing a town, that it employed twenty-ſeven veſſels in the cod-fiſhery.

Another cenſus was taken in 1776, when there were found in Chatham a hundred and ſixty-five families, and nine hundred and thirty ſouls.

The town ſuffered greatly by the revolutionary war. Many of the men were captivated by the enemy, and died in priſon ſhips. In the year 1783, four or five veſſels only were left in the harbours; but the town was filled with widows, mourning the loſs of their huſbands and ſons. With the return of peace, the fiſhery revived, the tears of the wretched were wiped away; and ſince that period the inhabitants have been increaſing in wealth and population.†

The names and ſucceſſion of the paſtors will conclude the deſcription of Chatham. June 15th. 1720, the church was firſt gathered, and Rev. Joſeph Lord ordained. He died June 6th. 1748. Rev. Stephen Emery was inſtalled May 17th. 1749, and died May 24th. 1782. Rev. Thomas Roby was ordained October 22d. 1783, and diſmiſſed at his requeſt October 22d. 1795. The preſent paſtor, Rev. Ephraim Briggs, was ordained July 20th. 1796. *Seip, ſepoeſe, ſepoemeſe, wechekum.* *r. s.*

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* There is not an Indian now in Chatham.

† A traveller who viſited Chatham in the year 1790, and who obſerved every object with an accurate eye, informs the publick, that forty veſſels were then employed in the cod-fiſhery. It would appear therefore, at firſt view, that the number of veſſels, as it is not more than twenty-five at preſent, has diminiſhed during the paſt twelve years. The truth is, that the inhabitants of Chatham did not, in 1790, own forty fiſhermen; but at that period, a number of veſſels, which with their crews wholly belonged to other places, came into the harbour of Chatham, and the fiſh which they brought was cured on its ſhores. See Maſſ. Mag. Vol. 3. p. 74.

A DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF EASTHAM, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER. 1802.

EASTHAM is ſituated in latitude 41°. 51′. N. and longitude 69°. 56′. W. from Greenwich. Its diſtance from Boſton, following the road, is ninety-four miles; from Plymouth, the capital of the Old Colony, fifty-two; and from Barnſtable, the ſhire town, twenty-two. The diſtance from Boſton, in a ſtraight line, is ſixty-eight miles. It is bounded on the eaſt by the Atlantick ocean; on the north by Wellfleet; on the weſt by Barnſtable bay; and on the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt by Orleans; from which it is ſeparated by a line beginning at Rock harbour river, and running by various courſes to Boat meadow river; thence running up the middle of the river to its head; thence running ſoutherly, through the centre of the meadow, to a ſwamp; thence through the ſwamp, and along Jeremiah's gutter, into the middle of Town cove; thence running down the centre of the cove to Stone iſland; and thence running an eaſt-ſouth-eaſt courſe into the Atlantick ocean. The length of the townſhip is ſix miles; and the breadth, from two miles to two and a half.

In ſailing from Race point ſouth, the firſt opening into the beach, on the eaſtern ſide of the county of Barnſtable, is found in Eaſtham. There is here a ſmall harbour, called Nauſet, or Stage harbour, the entrance of which it narrow and obſtructed by a bar, on which are not more than eight feet of water at full ſea. It is divided into two arms, one of which extends north, and the other ſouth-weſt. The northern arm is ſhallow. A body of ſalt marſh, containing two hundred acres, lies in it, and is protected from the ocean by a narrow beach. The ſouth-weſtern arm, which is denominated Town cove, has fourteen feet in the deepeſt part, at high water, common tides. As it is completely ſecured againſt every wind, if a paſſage could be opened from it into the ocean, it would afford an excellent harbour; but this, it is conceived, is impoſſible, becauſe if the channel was deepened by art, it would ſoon be choked up again with ſand, driven into it by ſtorms.

A ſandy flat, a mile wide, extends along the weſtern ſhore, from Suet to the bounds of Wellfleet. It is left dry about three hours, and may eaſily be croſſed by horſes and carriages. Of conſequence there can be no good harbour on this ſide of the townſhip. There are however ſeveral creeks, which at high water admit ſmall veſſels into them.

The firſt is Great meadow river, the mouth of which is ſituated ſouth-weſt from the meeting houſe. Eaſt of it is a body of ſalt marſh.

About a half of a mile ſouth of Great meadow river is Boat meadow river, which runs from the ſouth-eaſt. Its entrance lies ſouth-ſouth-weſt from the meeting houſe, and is eight feet deep at high water. A body of ſalt marſh extends from the mouth of this river to within four rods of Town cove, leaving a narrow ridge for a road. The marſh is not more than fifteen rods from the ſwamp, which is the head of Jeremiah's gutter; and as the land is low between them, in very high tides, the ſea flows acroſs from the bay to the ocean, completely inſulating the northern part of the county.

About a half of a mile ſouth of Boat meadow river is Rock harbour river; which will again be mentioned in the Deſcription of Orleans.

Beſide theſe creeks there are three brooks which empty themſelves into the bay.

The firſt is Indian brook, which forms the boundary between Eaſtham and Wellfleet, and runs into the harbour of Silver ſprings.

Three quarters of a mile ſouth of Indian brook is Cook's brook, which is dry half the year.

A mile ſouth of Cook's brook is Snow's brook, which runs the greateſt part of the year, but is very ſmall.

Grape ſwamp, a mile ſouth of Snow's brook, ſometimes diſcharges water into the bay.

On the eaſtern ſide of the townſhip, in the fertile tract, the road paſſes over a ſmall ſtream, which contains freſh water at low tide.

Jeremiah's gutter may alſo be called a brook, though it is very narrow, and not more than fourteen rods in length.

As there is little room for theſe brooks to run, they are neceſſarily formed on a minute ſcale.

Freſh ponds are not numerous in Eaſtham, there being eight only. The moſt remarkable are Great pond and Long pond. Great pond is a quarter of a mile from the weſtern ſhore. A communication was opened between it and the bay, for the purpoſe of ſuffering alewives to paſs into it: it ſoon cloſed. A narrow neck, about forty feet wide, ſeparates it from Long pond; the diſtance of which from Mill pond, connected with the northern arm of Nauſet harbour, is not more than a furlong. Here thoſe who think it as eaſy to dig through the land, as to mark a line on a map, will be diſpoſed to cut a canal from the ocean to the bay. As the ground is generally low, the labour would not be great; but unfortunately the canal, if made, would not long exiſt.

The ſoil of the townſhip is various. A large proportion is ſandy and barren.* On the weſt ſide, a beach extends from the north line, near a half of a mile wide, till it comes to Great pond, where it ſtretches acroſs the townſhip almoſt to Town cove. This barren tract, which does not now contain a particle of vegetable mould, formerly produced wheat. The ſoil however was light. The ſand in ſome places, lodging againſt the beach graſs,† has been raiſed into hills fifty feet high, where twenty-five years ago no hills exiſted. In others it has filled up ſmall vallies and ſwamps. Where a ſtrong-rooted buſh ſtood, the appearance is ſingular: a maſs of earth and ſand adheres to it, reſembling a ſmall tower. In ſeveral places rocks, which were formerly covered with ſoil, are diſcloſed ; and being laſhed by the ſand, driven againſt them by the wind, look as if they were recently dug from a quarry.

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* See Maſſ. Mag. Vol. 3. p. 75.

† See Deſcription of the Eaſtern Coaſt of the County of Barnſtable, p. 110.

On the eaſtern ſide of the townſhip, is a tract of about two hundred acres, equal, and by many ſuppoſed ſuperiour, to any land in the county. Three cedar ſwamps on the weſt of it, three quarters of a mile in length, ſtill guard it in a great meaſure againſt the irruptions of the ſand. This good land will yield, with manure, thirty-five, and ſometimes forty-five, buſhels of Indian corn to an acre, and from twenty to thirty buſhels of rye.

North of the fertile tract on the eaſtern ſide of Eaſtham, the land is light and ſandy ; but, except for the diſtance of a half of a mile from the bounds of Wellfleet, is good for the lower part of the county. In this part of the townſhip the greateſt quantities of corn are grown.

As very little of the land is good for graſs, the raiſing of grain is the principal buſineſs to which the farmers attend. More corn is produced than the inhabitants conſume ; and above a thouſand buſhels, about half of which are ſold in Wellfleet, are annually ſent to market. Five and twenty years ago, three times this quantity was exported. The ſoil being free from ſtones, a plough paſſes through it ſpeedily ; and after the corn has come up, a ſmall Cape horſe, ſomewhat larger than a goat, will, with the aſſiſtance of two boys, eaſily hoe three or four acres in a day. Several farmers are accuſtomed to produce five hundred buſhels of grain annually ; and not long ſince, one of them raiſed eight hundred buſhels, on ſixty acres. This, however, was extraordinary, and may never be done again.

In Eaſtham and in Orleans a little wheat and flax are raiſed, particularly on the beſt land. The former is ſubject to be blaſted in both townſhips. There is ſufficient ſalt hay ; but very little Engliſh hay is cut in Eaſtham.

Except a tract of oaks and pines, adjoining the ſouth line of Wellfleet, and which is about a mile and a half wide, no wood is left in the townſhip. The foreſts were imprudently cut down many years ago ; and no obſtacle being oppoſed to the fury of the wind, it has already covered with barrenneſs the large tract above deſcribed, and threatens the whole townſhip with deſtruction. For the preſent its rage ſeems in ſome degree to be checked by encloſures and planting beach graſs. Theſe meaſures, if perſevered in, though they may not retrieve the ſoil already loſt, will guard the fertile grounds, which ſtill flouriſh amidſt a deſart of ſand.

The high land of Cape Cod, which begins at the Clay pounds in Truro, on which, in the year 1798, a light houſe was erected, terminates a mile north of Eaſtham. This townſhip is chiefly a plain. There are a few riſing grounds and vallies, particularly in the fertile tract. Moſt of the houſes, being protected neither by hills nor woods, ſtand in bleak and expoſed ſituations.

The county road from Harwich to Wellfleet paſſes over the barren ſands; and conveys to ſtrangers, who are naturally induced to take this way, a worſe opinion of Eaſtham than it deſerves. Soon after entering on this ſcene of deſolation, a road turns to the right, and leads over the good land. Theſe two roads meet on the narrow neck, which lies between Long pond and Mill pond, where again they diverge, the road on the right hand being very good for this part of the county; but in favour of the other nothing can be ſaid, except that it is the ſhorteſt, and that it is not as bad as the roads of Wellfleet.

There are at preſent in Eaſtham a hundred and twenty-two families, who inhabit ninety-nine dwelling houſes, ſeven of which only are two ſtories in height. The other buildings are, beſide barns, two windmills, two ſchool houſes, and a meeting houſe, which this year has been enlarged and repaired.

There is no village in the townſhip; but ſeveral quarters of it are diſtinguiſhed by appropriate appellations.

The north-eaſt part retains the ancient Indian name, Nauſet.

The north-weſt part, a little north of the centre of the townſhip, is called Halfponds. It receives its name from two ſmall ponds near it.

The part weſt of the meeting houſe, ſouth of Great and Long ponds, and north of Great meadow, is denominated Great Neck; which terminates in Mulford's cliff.

Three fiſhing veſſels only are owned by the inhabitants, and three coaſters, which in ſummer bring lumber from the diſtrict of Maine, and in winter go to the Weſt-Indies. Not ſo many of the young men are engaged in the cod-fiſhery as in other lower towns of the county; but a number are employed in the merchants' ſervice, and ſail from Boſton.

Fiſhes are the ſame as on other parts of the coaſt. By the act of incorporation, which ſeparated Orleans from Eaſtham, the benefits of the ſhell-fiſhery are to be mutually ſhared. About a hundred barrels of clams for bait are annually collected in Eaſtham.

The climate does not differ materially from that of other parts of the county. Hyſterick fits are very common in Orleans, Eaſtham, and the towns below, particularly on ſunday, in the time of divine ſervice. When one woman is affected, five or ſix others generally ſympathize with her; and the congregation is thrown into the utmoſt confuſion. Several old men ſuppoſe, unphiloſophically and uncharitably perhaps, that the will is partly concerned, and that ridicule and threats would have a tendency to prevent the evil. Nervous diſorders and the pulmonary conſumption are alſo frequent in this place.

The territory conſtituting the old colony of Plymouth, before the arrival of the Engliſh, was poſſeſſed by a nation of Indians ſtyled the Wamponoags or Pawkunnawkuts.* The Indians in the county of Barnſtable were a diſtinct people; but they were ſubject in ſome reſpects to the chief ſachem of the Wamponoags. Of theſe petty tribes, the Nauſet Indians appear to have been the moſt important. They dwelt on the land, which the Engliſh afterwards ſettled by the name of Eaſtham; and their country extended from Nobſcuſſet to Cape Cod, including Sawkatucket, Monamoyick, Potanumaquut, Pononakanit,

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* Gookin's Hiſt. Coll. of the Ind. in N. Eng. chap. II. §. 4. The name of this nation is ſpelled in many different manners: Packanokik and Puckanokick, by Purchas; Pocanaket, by Morton, and Pockanockett, by his Continuator; Pacanokik, by Prince; and Pokanocket by Hutchinſon. A ſimilar diſorder prevails in the orthography of other Indian names.

Pamet, and Meſhawn.* The principal ſeats of the Nauſet Indians were at Namſkeket, within the limits of Orleans, and about the Cove, which divides this townſhip from Eaſtham. At the latter place ſhell fiſh have always been plenty: food therefore could eaſily be obtained in abundance.†

Cape Cod being diſcovered by Goſnold in the year 1602, ſeveral Engliſh veſſels after this period viſited the coaſt. In 1614, Capt. John Smith, the celebrated navigator,‡ after touching at ſeveral places on the coaſt of New England, embarked for London, and left his ſhip under the command of Thomas Hunt, to load it with fiſh for Spain. After his lading was completed, and he was ready to ſail, Hunt, under the pretence of trading with them, enticed into the ſhip twenty Indians from Patuxet, and ſeven from Nauſet. He ſeized on theſe unſuſpecting natives, confined them in the hold of the veſſel, and carried them to Malaga; where he ſold a number of them for twenty pounds a man; and would have diſpoſed of the whole in the ſame way, if the monks of that city had not compaſſionately interfered, and reſcued thoſe who remained out of his hands.|| This atrocious deed kindled in the hearts of the Indians a fire of hatred, which was not extinguiſhed during many years. All farther attempts at commerce with them became in a high degree dangerous; and on ſundry occaſions they exerciſed on the Europeans the deepeſt revenge.§

In 1617, the country of the Pawkunnawkuts was nearly depopulated by the Great Plague.¶ The Nauſet Indians, and other tribes eaſt of Patuxet, appear in a great meaſure to have eſcaped the peſtilence. In

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* Hutchinſon. Vol. 1. p. 459. 1ſt edit. Gookin. chap. VIII. § 2.

† The great numbers of broken ſhells remaining in the neighbourhood of this Cove prove that the territory was formerly well ſettled by the Indians.

‡ For an entertaining narrative of Capt. Smith's romantick adventures, ſee Belknap's Biography, Vol. I.

|| I. Mather's Relation of Troubles in N. Eng. p. 2. Prince's Annals, p. 40. Mourt. 38.

§ Prince's Ann. p. 41, 45, 68. Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. p. 211. I. Mather's Relation, p. 4.

¶ Prince's Ann. p. 46.

In the month of November of the year 1620, the little band of adventurers, who ſettled the colony of Plymouth, arrived in the harbour of Cape Cod. On the 6th. of December they ſent out their ſhallop with ten of their principal men, and eight or ten ſeamen, to coaſt round the bay, that they might diſcover a proper place for a ſettlement. Paſſing by Pamet river and Billingſgate point, they reached the bottom of the bay that night, and landed north of Great pond in Eaſtham.

Having employed the next day in examining the country, early in the morning of the 8th. of December, they were ſuddenly attacked by the Nauſet Indians, inſtigated without doubt by the remembrance of Hunt's perfidy. Though they were ſucceſsful in repelling the foe, they thought it neceſſary immediately to quit the coaſt; and ſailing along the ſhore, that night they reached the harbour of Plymouth.*

They heard nothing farther of the Nauſet Indians till the enſuing March, when they were informed by Samoſet, the firſt native who viſited them, that this tribe conſiſted of a hundred fighting men. A boy, John Billington, having loſt himſelf in the woods, and being conveyed to Nauſet, an opportunity was afforded of making peace with the Indians of this place. Accordingly ten men were ſent by Governour Bradford, about the end of July, 1621, to recover the boy. They ſailed firſt to the harbour of Cummaquid, where they were hoſpitably entertained by Iyanough, the ſachem. Thence they proceeded to Nauſet, Iyanough and two of his men accompanying them. The deſign of the embaſſy being made known to Aſpinet, the chief ſachem, the boy was reſtored and a peace concluded.†

Maſaſſoit, the ſachem of the Wamponoags, having, in September, acknowledged the king of England to be his maſter, the ſachems of Nauſet, Pamet, and Cummaquid, who were in ſubjection to him, ſubmitted alſo to the ſame authority.‡

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* Prince's Annals. p. 76—78. Morton's Memorial. p. 24—28. Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. Life of Carver.

† Prince's Annals. p. 107, 108. Mourt. 60.

‡ Prince's Ann. p. 112.

After this a friendly intercourſe was maintained, for more than a year, between the Engliſh at Plymouth and the Indians of Nauſet. Supplies of corn and beans were obtained of theſe natives by the coloniſts, who, in the ſummer of 1622, were reduced almoſt to a ſtate of famine.* Trade was carried on between the two parties with fairneſs and honour; and the perſons employed in the buſineſs were treated by the Indians with reſpect and kindneſs.†

But in the ſpring of 1623, the coloniſts received information from Maſaſſoit, who continued faithful to them, that there was a conſpiracy among the Indians, in which the ſachems of Nauſet and Pamet had joined, to extirpate the Engliſh. In conſequence of this intelligence, Capt. Standiſh was diſpatched to the bay of Maſſachuſetts, where he put to death the principal conſpirators. This prompt execution ſo terrified the reſt of the natives, that they abandoned their houſes, and concealed themſelves in ſwamps; where they contracted diſeaſes, by which many of them miſerably periſhed. Among others, who fell victims to their fears, was Aſpinet, the ſachem of Nauſet, and Iyanough, the courteous ſachem of Cummaquid.‡

By theſe diſaſters the Nauſet Indians were reduced and humbled. They probably ſoon returned, however, to an amicable correſpondence with the Engliſh; for leſs than four years after the conſpiracy, we find them again kindly aſſiſting the Engliſh and ſelling them corn.||

Though the Engliſh had ſettled eight towns in the colony of Plymouth during the firſt twenty years; yet no attempt had been made to begin a plantation in Nauſet. In the year 1640, "the purchaſers or old comers" of Plymouth colony obtained of the court the grant of a tract of land, from the bounds of Yarmouth three miles to the eaſtward of Namſkeket, and acroſs the neck from ſea to ſea.

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* Prince's Ann. p. 118. Winſlow. 16.

† Prince's Ann. p. 124. Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. p. 228. Winſlow. 27.

‡ Prince's Ann. p. 129—133. Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. p. 230, 231. Winſlow. 49, 59, 66.

|| Prince's Ann. p. 164.

ſea.* But no immediate uſe was made of it, nor was any townſhip begun.

Three years after this grant, 1643, ſeveral members of the church of Plymouth became diſſatisfied with their ſituation. Notwithſtanding the favourable opinion which the coloniſts had firſt conceived of the place,† they diſcovered in a few years, that they had built their town in the neighbourhood of one of the moſt barren parts of New England. The ſpots of good land are ſmall, and few in number; and plains and hills of ſand ſurround the harbour, and extend to a diſtance from it into the country, rendering it improbable that Plymouth could ever be raiſed into a flouriſhing and opulent capital. Many perſons had already left the town; and at this time ſundry reſpectable members requeſting a diſmiſſion, the church began ſeriouſly to reflect, whether it was not better to remove in a body to another place, than thus to be weakened and inſenſibly diſſolved.

Many meetings of the church were held on the ſubject; and there was a great diverſity of ſentiments among the members. Some were for ſtill remaining together in Plymouth, alleging that they could live there very well, provided they would be contented with their ſituation; and that not the fear of poverty, but the deſire of enriching themſelves, was the motive of thoſe who wiſhed to depart. Others were determined to remove, declaring that if the whole church would not go, they would go by themſelves. The members of the church, notwithſtanding this difference of opinion, felt mutually the affection of brethren; and were unwilling to be deprived of the ſociety and friendſhip of each other. At length, therefore, thoſe who preferred ſtaying in Plymouth yielded to the ſentiment of the others; and a removal was univerſally agreed to, on the condition that they could find a place, which would conveniently receive the whole church, with the addition of ſuch perſons as might hereafter join them.

This being reſolved, ſeveral places were propoſed, and among others Nauſet, which the Governour, Mr. Bradford,

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* Hazard's Coll. Vol. I. p. 466. Plym. Col. Records. Lib. III. Fol. 276.

† See Mourt's Relation. 23.

ford, apprehended would be a commodious ſituation, he having had occaſion once or twice to viſit this part of the country, and having found here a tract of fertile land, which had alſo been commended by others as a rich ſoil.*

The church acceding to the propoſition of the Governour, a committee was choſen and ſent to Nauſet on diſcovery. They took, however, a ſuperficial view only of the place; and hence ſuppoſed that it was larger than it afterwards proved to be. After their return to Plymouth, the members of the church, knowing that "the purchaſers or old comers" had a grant of lands in this part of the country, thought it neceſſary to apply to them for their conſent; which being obtained, it was concluded by the church to ſend a number of perſons to make a more complete diſcovery and ſurvey of Nauſet, and alſo to purchaſe the ſoil of the natives. This was in June, 1644.

Accordingly a committee, conſiſting of Thomas Prince, John Doane, Nicholas Snow, Joſias Cook, Richard Higgins, John Smalley, and Edward Bangs, who were the firſt ſettlers of Eaſtham, with the addition of the Governour and many other members of the church, was choſen, and ſent on a ſecond diſcovery. Theſe perſons having proceeded to Nauſet, and made an accurate ſurvey of the place, judged that it was not capable of containing more than twenty or twenty-five families; and conſequently that it was not large enough to accommodate the whole church, much leſs to afford room for future increaſe. They thought proper, however, to purchaſe the ſoil of the natives; which was done accordingly.

The lands, which were then bought, were as follows: A tract of land called Pochet, with two iſlands lying before Potanumaquut, with a beach and ſmall iſland upon it; alſo all the land called Namſkeket, extending northward to the bounds of the territory belonging to George, the ſachem, excepting a ſmall iſland† which was purchaſed afterwards. Theſe tracts were bought of the ſachem of Monamoyick, Mattaquaſon, who laid claim to them. Of George, the ſachem, probably the immediate ſucceſſor of

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* See Morton's Mem. p. 34. edit. 1721.

† Pochet iſland.

Aſpinet, they bought at the ſame time all the lands belonging to him; extending northward from the bounds of the territory claimed by Mattaquaſon, excepting a ſmall neck of land lying by the harbour on the eaſt ſide of the tract; which neck of land the Engliſh ſtipulated to fence; that the Indians might uſe it as a cornfield. It was alſo agreed between the Engliſh and Indians, that ſuch of them as were the natural inhabitants of the place ſhould have liberty to get ſhell fiſh in the cove; and likewiſe that they ſhould have a part of the blubber, which ſhould be driven on ſhore, the proportion to be determined by the Engliſh. At this time it was demanded, who laid claim to Billingſgate, which was underſtood to be all the land in the bay, north of the territory purchaſed of George, the ſachem. The anſwer was, There was not any who owned it. Then ſaid the committee, That land is ours. The Indians anſwered, It was.

The committee, having completed the buſineſs, returned to Plymouth, and made report to the church; who, judging that Nauſet was not only too ſmall to receive the whole body, but alſo too remote from the centre of the colony to be a fit place for the metropolis of the government, determined not to remove. Liberty, however, was given to thoſe, who choſe to go, to begin the plantation, they agreeing to pay for the purchaſe, which at firſt was made in the name of the whole church.*

In the mean time a grant was obtained of the colony court in the following words:

1644. "The court doth grant unto the church of New Plymouth, or thoſe that go to dwell at Nauſet, all the tract of land lying between ſea and ſea, from the purchaſers bounds at Namſkeket, to the Herring brook at Billingſgate, with ſaid Herring brook, and all the meadows on both ſides the ſaid brook, with the great baſs pond there, and all meadows and iſlands lying within the ſaid tract."†

This grant included the preſent townſhips of Eaſtham, Wellfleet, and Orleans. It extended ſouth to Monamoyick bay, or the Eaſtern harbour, or Great harbour, as it was then ſometimes called. At one end it was bounded by the "lands belonging to the purchaſers or old comers," afterwards ſettled by the name of Harwich*; and at the other, by lands which were afterwards incorporated by the name of Truro; being in length about fifteen miles.

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* Plym. Col. Rec. Lib. III. Fol. 276.

† Plym. Col. Rec. Lib. II. Fol. 112.

Thomas Prince, and the others above named, having obtained poſſeſſion of the grant and the right of property, removed immediately to Nauſet, and began to ſettle the townſhip.† Theſe perſons are ſaid to have been among the moſt reſpectable inhabitants of Plymouth. The church regretted their departure, viewing herſelf as a mother grown old and forſaken by her children, though not in their affections, yet in their company and perſonal aſſiſtance.‡ But however the emigration might be lamented at that time, it was productive of great good to the colony; as, whilſt it did not eſſentially injure the church of Plymouth, which ſoon ſupplied with other members the loſs which it had ſuſtained, it eventually led to the ſettlement of all the lower part of the county of Barnſtable; in conſequence of which the Indians there, ſtill from their numbers a formidable body, were overawed and their good will obtained; and they were prevented from joining in any hoſtile attempts againſt the Engliſh in the wars which afterwards enſued.

Of the firſt planters of Nauſet, Thomas Prince was the leader. This gentleman was born in England, and came to America in the ſhip Fortune, which arrived at Plymouth, November, 1621,‖ being then in the twenty-ſecond year of his age. He was firſt choſen governour of the colony in the year 1634; but Governour Bradford being re-elected the next year, Mr. Prince was appointed an aſſiſtant. He continued in this office, except in the year 1638, when he was a ſecond time choſen governour, till the death of Mr. Bradford, in 1657.§ At this period a diſpoſition prevailed in the colony to diſcountenance the regular miniſters, by ſetting up the gifts of private brethren in oppoſition to them. The friends of learning thought that no method would be more effectual in preventing the churches from being overwhelmed with ignorance, than the election of Mr. Prince to the office of governour; and this point being gained, the adverſe party from that time ſunk into confuſion. On this occaſion he left Eaſtham and returned to Plymouth, where he reſided till his death, which took place March 29th. 1673, in the ſeventy-third year of his age, after he had ſerved his country in the office of governour eighteen years. His death was much lamented, and his body honourably buried at Plymouth, the eighth of April following. He was a man of great worth and piety; eminently qualified in an infant colony for the office of governour, the duties of which he faithfully and conſcientiouſly diſcharged; ſtudious of peace, a well-wiſher to all who feared God, and a terrour to the wicked; rigid however in his religious opinions, and a zealous oppoſer of thoſe whom he thought hereticks, particularly of the Quakers, who "placed their juſtification upon their patience and ſuffering for their opinions, and on their righteous life." Mr. Prince was in particular diſtinguiſhed for his integrity. As a magiſtrate he ſo ſcrupulouſly rejected every thing which had even the appearance of a bribe, that if any perſon, who had a cauſe at court, ſent a preſent to his family during his abſence, on hearing of it, he immediately returned the value of it in money. His natural abilities were good, but they were not much improved by education; the want of which he duly felt, and this led to encourage learning to the utmoſt of his power. It was he, who, in oppoſition to the clamours of the ignorant and ſelfiſh, procured revenues for the ſupport of grammar ſchools in the colony.* Mr. Prince was twice married.† One of his deſcendants was the learned and accurate author of the Annals of New England, which have preſerved many valuable materials of the early hiſtory of the colonies, which but for the labours of their induſtrious author would have been irretrievably loſt. Poſterity, to whom the principles, feelings, habits, and ſufferings of the planters of New England will be intereſting objects of contemplation, will lament that the neglect of the contemporaries of this gentleman prevented him from bringing his work to a concluſion.

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* Plym. Col. Rec. A. D. 1654. Maſſ. Acts and Laws. A. D. 1694.

† Morton's Mem. p. 159.

‡ Cotton's Account of the Church in Plym. in Coll. of Hiſt. Soc. Vol. IV. p. 112, 113. Plym. Col. Rec. Lib. III. Fol. 276.

‖ Prince Ann. p. 114.

§ Morton's Mem. p. 123—183.

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* Plym. Col. Rec. A. D. 1673. Morton's Mem. p. 183, 190, 191, 197, 198, 244. Mather's Magnal. Book II. chap. II. § 2.

† Prince's Ann. p. 150. MS. in poſſeſſion of the writer of this article.

Next in rank to Mr. Prince, among the planters of Nauſet, was John Doane. This gentleman came early to New England, and was choſen aſſiſtant in the year 1633.* Before his removal he was a deacon of the church of Plymouth.† His poſterity have principally remained within the ancient limits of Eaſtham; and ſeveral of them have been men of reſpectable characters both in former and later times.‡

Of the other planters of Nauſet little is now known. Edward Bangs and Nicholas Snow|| came to New England in the ſhip Anne, which arrived at Plymouth July, 1623.§ The deſcendants of the former are chiefly to be found in Harwich; the numerous poſterity of the latter in Harwich, Truro, and within the ancient limits of Eaſtham. Richard Higgins alſo came to Plymouth not many years after that town began, as his name appears on the liſt of freemen in the year 1633.¶ There are more families of this name in the county of Barnſtable than of any other, except that of Smith; and nearly the whole of them live in Eaſtham, Orleans, and Wellfleet. Deſcendants of Cook and Smalley remain in the county; but they are not numerous. At what time theſe two perſons came to New England is unknown. Francis, John, and Jacob Cook were among the early ſettlers of the colony**; Joſias Cook might be the ſon of one of them.

Theſe perſons having ſeated themſelves in Nauſet, from time

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* Plym. Col. Rec. 1633. In Morton's Mem. p. 120, by an errour of the preſs, the name is Dove.

† Cotton's Acc. of the Ch. in Plym.

‡ Rec. of Maſſ. A. D. 1693, 1759, 1770, &c.

|| Plym. Col. Rec.

§ Prince's Ann. p. 139.

¶ Plym. Col. Records.

** Plym. Col. Rec. A.D. 1633.

time to time admitted others to join them. In the year 1646, they had gained ſuch an acceſſion of numbers, that they thought proper to apply to the colony court for an act of incorporation. This was obtained, and is in the following words.

1646. June 2d. "Nauſet is granted to be a townſhip, and to have all the privileges of a townſhip, as other towns within the government have."

The inhabitants of Eaſtham ſoon experienced the inconvenience of having the natives at both ends of their townſhip. They accordingly came to a compoſition with the Indians, who had been the ſubjects of George, the ſachem, he being now dead, reſpecting the neck of land lying at the mouth of the harbour. For this tract they paid a valuable conſideration, and allowed the Indians beſides a piece of land at Geſquoquaſet,* which they were to encloſe themſelves.

Not long after this they purchaſed the fertile iſland of Pochet, which in the firſt ſale had been reſerved by Mattaquaſon to the Indians. They held the lands in Billingſgate many years, without paying any thing for them. But about the year 1666, appeared an Indian, who ſtyled himſelf Lieutenant Anthony, and laid claim to them. Of him therefore they bought the tract, extending from the northern limits of Nauſet, to a little brook named by the Indians Sapokoniſk, and by the Engliſh Bound brook, Anthony reſerving to himſelf a ſmall neck, called Tuttomneſt.†

Twelve years before the claims of the Indians were fully ſatisfied, the line between Eaſtham and the lands belonging to "the purchaſers or old comers" was ſettled. It was then determined by the colony court, that the line ſhould begin at the river of Namſkeket, and extend to the Eaſtern harbour.*

The planters of Eaſtham having obtained poſſeſſion of the townſhip, both by act of the legiſlature and by purchaſe

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* The writer has not been able to aſcertain the ſituation of this land.

† Plym. Col. Rec. Lib. III. Fol. 276. Indian Deed to Thomas Prince, &c. 9th. of Nov. 1666, in Plym. Col. Rec. A. D. 1673.

* Plym. Col. Rec. A. D. 1654.

chaſe from the natives, proceeded to cultivate their lands. A church was gathered ſoon after their arrival † ; but the inhabitants were not ſufficiently numerous to ſupport a miniſter of religion till the year 1672, when the Reverend Samuel Treat was ordained.‡ This gentleman is entitled to a diſtinguiſhed rank among the evangeliſts of New England ; and by his zeal and labours, he not only converted many of the Indians to the faith which he embraced, but he was alſo the happy inſtrument of reducing them to a ſtate of order and civilization.

The excellent Mr. Eliot was, however, the firſt mover in this benevolent work ; and to him the higheſt praiſe is juſtly due. After converting the Indians in his neighbourhood, he travelled into the colony of Plymouth, and preached to the natives there. Not ſatisfied with this exertion, he wrote letters to ſeveral perſons of learning and piety, urging them to accompliſh themſelves for the undertaking. His example and exhortations made ſuch an impreſſion on the mind of Mr. Richard Bourne of Sandwich, that he entered on the ſervice with activity and ardour. Having firſt obtained a competent knowledge of their language, he turned his attention to the Indians, who lived ſouthward and eaſtward of him. His labours were crowned with ſucceſs ; and many of them were converted to the faith, and ſeveral of them were taught to read and write.* There is extant a letter written by him to Mr. Gookin in the year 1674 ; and it appears from it, that there were then, in the ſeveral villages below Sandwich, above three hundred Indians, who met together on the Lord's day to worſhip God. In this letter the name of Mr. Treat, and of the other ſettled miniſters in the county, is not mentioned. Probably none of them had yet begun to imitate the laudable example of Mr. Bourne.

Mr. Treat, however, ſoon after engaged with earneſtneſs in the buſineſs, and proſecuted it with zeal during a great number of years.* In 1685, when an account of the praying Indians in the colony of Plymouth was tranſmitted to England by Governour Hinkley, it was found that they amounted to five hundred men and women, within the limits of Mr. Treat's pariſh, beſide boys and girls, who were ſuppoſed to be more than three times that number.†

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† Mather's Magnal. B. II. chap. 11. § 2. Cotton's Acc. of Ch. in Plym.

‡ Inſcription on the grave ſtone of Mr. Treat.

* Coll. of Hiſt. Soc. Vol. III. p. 189. Gookin's Hiſt. Coll. chap. V. § 5. and chap. VIII. § 1, 2.

Eight years after this period, at the requeſt of Dr. I. Mather, he wrote a letter, which, as it contains valuable information, it may be proper to give entire.

"Reverend and worthy Sir,

"I being advertiſed, that it would not be unſeaſonable or unſerviceable at this juncture to give yourſelf a true and impartial account, both of the number, as alſo of the preſent ſtate of our Indians, and acceptation and entertainment of the goſpel among them, and their profeſſed ſubjection thereunto: wherefore, Sir, you may be aſſured as followeth.

"That there are five hundred and five adult‡ perſons of Indians within the limits of our townſhip, unto whom, theſe *many* years paſt, I have, from time to time, imparted the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in their own language, and I truly hope not without ſucceſs; and yet I continue in the ſame ſervice, earneſtly imploring, and not without hopes expecting and waiting for, a more plentiful down pouring of the ſpirit from on high among them. And I verily do not know of, nor can I learn, that there is ſo much as one of theſe five hundred Indians, that does obſtinately abſent from, but do jointly frequent and attend on the preaching of the word, and countenance the ſame; not only frequenting and attending ſeaſons of worſhip of a divine ſanction, but alſo other occaſional opportunities, when the goſpel is diſpenſed to them; and when our congregations ſolemnize publick days of prayer, with faſting, or of praiſes, I uſually giving them advertiſement thereof, they readily comply therewith in their reſpective aſſemblies.

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* Inſcription on Mr. Treat's grave ſtone. See alſo his letter to Dr. I. Mather.

† Hutch. Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 349.

‡ Mr. T. probably wrote 500, and the printer miſtook the ſecond cypher for a 5.

" They have four diſtinct aſſemblies, in four villages, belonging to our townſhip; in which four aſſemblies they have four teachers, of their own choice, of the more ſober, well affected, and underſtanding perſons among them; who do duly preach to them, when I am not with them. Theſe Indian teachers repair to my houſe once a week, to be further inſtructed, *pro modulo meo*, in the concernments proper for their ſervice and ſtation.

" There are in the four abovesaid villages four ſchoolmaſters, of the beſt accompliſhed for that ſervice, who teach their youth to read and write their own language.

" There are alſo ſix juſtices of the peace, or magiſtrates, in the four abovesaid villages, who regulate their civil affairs, and puniſh criminals and tranſgreſſors of the civil law. They have their ſtated courts, and other inferiour officers, in a ſubſerviency to their civil *eupolitueſthai.*

" There are among them many of a ſerious, ſober, civilized converſation and deportment, who are making eſſays towards a further progreſſive ſtep of obedience and conformity to the rules of the goſpel, viz. an eccleſiaſtical combination, having a great deſire to be baptized.

" They are very ſerviceable, by their labour, to the Engliſh vicinity; and have, all along, ſince our wars with their nation, been very friendly to the Engliſh, and forward to ſerve them in that quarrel: Their deportment, and converſe, and garb, being more manly and laudable than any other Indians, that I have obſerved in the province.

" But, Sir, I would not be tedious: only craving your intereſt at the throne of grace for us, that we may be ſerviceable to the name and kingdom of our Lord Jeſus: ſo I ſubſcribe,

Sir, yours willingly,

Samuel Treat.*

Eaſtham, Aug. 23d. 1693.

Rev. Increaſe Mather, Pres. of the College."

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* Matthew Mayhew's Narrative. 1694. p. 47.

It is remarkable that Mr. Treat in this letter eſtimates the adult praying Indians under his paſtoral care at about five hundred; which number agreeing with the enumeration of Governour Hinkley, it is probable that he had not taken the trouble to make a new cenſus, ſuppoſing that no material alteration had happened in eight years. But that the number of his Indians had diminiſhed, either before or not long after the year 1693, appears from the Report of Grindal Rawſon and Samuel Danforth.[†] Theſe gentlemen, being directed by the commiſſioners for the propagation of the goſpel in New England to examine the ſtate of the praying Indians in Maſſachuſetts, in the ſummer of 1698, viſited all their plantations in the province. Though they were informed at Eaſtham by Mr. Treat, that the number of Indians under his care was ſtill five hundred; yet their own obſervation did not confirm this account.

At Potanumaquut, the firſt village, they found twenty-two families and two ſchoolmaſters, one of whom, Thomas Coſhaumag, was the preacher. The rulers or magiſtrates were William Stockman, alias Quequaquonchet, and Lawrence Jeoffryes.

At Eaſtharbour and Billingſgate, that is Meſhawn and Punonakanit,[*] were about twenty houſes, in ſome of which were two families. Daniel Munſhe was the preacher, and Daniel Samuel the ruler.

At Monamoyick were fourteen houſes; John Coſens the preacher and ſchoolmaſter, and the rulers John Quaſon and Menekiſh.

At Saukatucket were fourteen families, to whom Manaſſeh was the preacher and Joſhua Shauntam the ruler.

In this Report there are four Indian villages, four preachers, and ſix magiſtrates, as Mr. Treat repreſents in his letter, but not more than ninety families, making the moſt liberal eſtimate for the two villages in which the number of the houſes only is given. Suppoſing therefore that there were ſix perſons to a family, a large allowance for Indian population, the number of men, women, and children could not have been more than five hundred and forty. Of this number leſs than four hundred muſt have been adults. Mr. Treat, as may be concluded from the well known integrity of his mind, without doubt honeſtly intended to give a true account; but he had not yet learned that an enumeration of Indians made in paſt years is not to be depended on, as their numbers are continually leſſening.

[†] Appendix to Noyes's Election Sermon, 1698. p. 96.

[*] See Gookin's Hiſt. Coll. chap. VIII. § 2.

Mr. Treat, as he informs Dr. Mather, preached to the Indians in their own language. He had made himſelf ſo perfectly acquainted with their barbarous dialect, that he was able to ſpeak, and to write it with great facility. Once in a month he preached in the ſeveral villages. At other times the Indian teachers read to their congregations the ſermons, which he had written for them, they not being permitted to deliver compoſitions of their own. In addition to theſe weekly taſks, he was at the pains to tranſlate the Confeſſion of Faith into the Nauſet language, for the edification of his converts. The book was printed, and many years ago was in the poſſeſſion of one of his grand-daughters.* As he conceived that it would not be in his power to make much impreſſion on the minds of the Indians, unleſs he gained their good will, he exerted himſelf to ſecure their affections. Beſide treating them on all occaſions with affability and kindneſs, he frequently viſited them at their wigwams, and with cheerfulneſs joined in their feſtivals. The conſequence was, that the Indians, won by his engaging manners, venerated him as a paſtor, and loved him as a father. Attentive to his comfort or neceſſities, they performed for him a great deal of labour, for which they would not accept any compenſation; and on ſundry occaſions they made him valuable preſents, as teſtimonies of their homage and regard.

But neither his prayers, nor his zeal in reforming and civilizing them, nor the benevolent exertions of his worthy coadjutors, could ſave them from deſtruction. A blaſting wind appeared to have ſmitten the Indians, as ſoon as the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of their country: they withered and died. Several years before the miniſtry of Mr. Treat was cloſed, a fatal diſeaſe, ſuppoſed to have been a fever, ſwept away a great number of his converts. In the year 1745, as the author has been informed by an aged perſon, who then viſited Eaſtham, few Indians were left within the townſhip. By the cenſus of 1764, there were found remaining in Eaſtham four Indians, in Wellfleet eleven, and in Harwich ninety-one. The greateſt part of the latter number dwelt at Potanumaquut, where a miſſionary continued to preach ſeveral years after this period. But the Potanumaquut tribe having waſted away, the preacher was diſmiſſed many years ſince. At preſent there are three Indians at Potanumaquut, and one in Eaſtham.

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* Miſs Eunice Paine.

Such is the hiſtory of the decline of the Nauſet tribes. In other parts of New England, the Indians have conſumed with equal or ſtill greater rapidity. At this time a traveller may paſs through the country, and he will as ſeldom meet with an Indian as with a rattleſnake. Before another century is completed, the red man will probably become as rare as the beaver: which is known to have been common in New England by the veſtiges of its labours.* But poſterity will ſpeak of him, as we now talk of the mammoth, as an animal which has long been extinct, but which certainly once exiſted; for as the bones of the mammoth remain, ſo the language of the Indian will be preſerved in the vocabulary of Williams,† and the tranſlations of Eliot.‡

To return to the hiſtory of Eaſtham: It was the only townſhip, during many years, in this part of the county of Barnſtable. But in 1694, the tract of land, granted to "the purchaſers or old comers of Plymouth colony," being filled with a competent number of inhabitants, many of whom were derived from this place, it was incorporated by the name of Harwich. In 1700, the ſettlement of Truro commenced by emigrants from Eaſtham. Before churches were eſtabliſhed in theſe two townſhips, Mr. Treat performed parochial duties in both: and he appears, by his letter to Dr. Mather, but not with accuracy, to conſider the whole of the county eaſt of Yarmouth as within the limits of Eaſtham. In the north precinct of the townſhip, Billingſgate, a ſmall meeting houſe was built not long after the incorporation of Truro, and probably before the deceaſe of Mr. Treat. Mr. Oakes, the firſt miniſter, preached in it a number of years.*

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* See Belknap's Hiſt. of N. Hampſh. Vol. III. p. 154.

† See Coll. of Hiſt. Soc. Vol. III. p. 203. and Vol. V. p. 80.

‡ Mr. Eliot tranſlated into the Indian language, the bible, the Practice of Piety, Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, and ſeveral other books, all of which were printed. Gookin's Hiſt. Coll. chap. V. § 5.

Mr. Treat, having paſſed near half a century in the moſt active† miniſterial labours, which he was enabled to ſupport by a firm and vigorous conſtitution, had a ſhock of the palſy a few years before his death. A ſecond attack put an end to his life, March 18th. 1716-17, when he was in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, and after he had been miniſter of Eaſtham forty-five years.‡

He died ſoon after the remarkable ſtorm, diſtinguiſhed in the annals of New England by the name of the Great Snow. The wind blew with violence; and whilſt the grounds around his houſe were left entirely bare, the ſnow was heaped up in the road to an uncommon height. It was in vain to attempt making a path. His body therefore was kept ſeveral days, till an arch could be dug, through which he was borne to the grave, the Indians, at their earneſt requeſt, being permitted in turn to carry the corpſe, and thus to pay the laſt tribute of reſpect to the remains of their beloved paſtor.

Samuel Treat was the oldeſt ſon of the governour of Connecticut, Robert Treat,|| who was the father of twenty-one children. He was educated at Harvard College, and was graduated in the year 1669. By his firſt wife, Elizabeth Mayo, he had eleven children; and by his ſecond, Abigail, daughter of Rev. Samuel Willard, paſtor of the South church in Boſton, he had two children, one of whom

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* For the names of the other miniſters in this pariſh ſee Deſcription of Wellfleet in Coll. of Hiſt. Soc. Vol. III. p. 118.

† Mather's Magnal. B. III. p. 200.

‡ Inſcription on Mr. Treat's grave ſtone.

|| For the character and exploits of this diſtinguiſhed hero and patriot ſee Trumbull's Hiſt. of Conn. Vol. I. p. 103—455.

whom, Eunice, was the mother of Judge Paine and of Mrs. Greenleaf, wife of Joſeph Greenleaf, Eſquire.*

Mr. Treat, as may be ſuppoſed from the period in which he lived, was a Calviniſt: but his Calviniſm was of the ſtricteſt kind; not that moderate Calviniſm, which is ſo common at the preſent time, and which, by giving up, or explaining away the peculiar doctrines of the party, like a porcupine diſarmed of its quills, is unable to reſiſt the feebleſt attack; but conſiſtent Calviniſm, with all its hard and ſharp points, by which it can courageouſly defend itſelf; in fine, ſuch Calviniſm, as the adamantine author of this ſyſtem would himſelf have avowed.

The fact is eſtabliſhed beyond all diſpute by a volume of his ſermons in manuſcript, now in poſſeſſion of his grandſon. Theſe ſermons are connected in their ſubjects, are correctly tranſcribed, and appear to have been deſigned for publication. They diſplay learning; and the doctrines of his ſect are defended with ability and ingenuity. The preſent age would not bear them, as many of the words which he uſes have grown obſolete, and his images too frequently are coarſe, and to a faſtidious modern ear would approach even to the ludicrous. Theſe ſermons are diſtinguiſhed by their tremendous applications, in which he has caught the ſpirit of Baxter and Alleine. The following extract from the application of a diſcourſe on Luke xvi. 23. is given as a ſpecimen of his manner.

"Let this truth be an awful and ſolemn word of awakening to thee, that art yet in thy ſins, and haſt not truly repented of them. I have preſſed thee to ſeriouſneſs from the conſideration of death, and that is ſolemn; but it may be that ſeems a little thing to thee, and thou counteſt it no ſuch great matter to die; and were the Epicurean principle a truth, that man dies in all points like the beaſts that periſh, it were of little concernment. Well then, if thou canſt ſee nothing in the grave to make thee ſerious, I beſeech thee to look a little further, and ſee if thou canſt find nothing in hell to ſtartle and amaze thee. Remember thou art not only going to the grave, which it may be thou mayſt look upon as an eaſer of many of the ſorrows of this life, and ſo mayſt have ſome abatement of the terrours of it; but thou art going to hell, the beginner of worſe, unſpeakably worſe ſorrows.

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* From the information of this gentleman and lady, particularly the latter, have been derived many of the facts in the life and character of Mr. Treat. Mrs. Greenleaf is now in the ſeventy-eighth year of her age. Her grandmother, Mrs. Treat, who made the character of her deceaſed huſband a frequent ſubject of converſation, died December 27th. 1746.----It may be proper to add here, that the knowledge of ſeveral ſingle facts, for which authorities are not quoted, in the Hiſtory of Eaſtham, has been obtained from other ſources, ſuch as the report of aged perſons, and uniform tradition.

"Thou muſt ere long go to the bottomleſs pit. Hell hath enlarged herſelf, and is ready to receive thee. There is room enough for thy entertainment: and doſt thou know what it is for a condemned ſinner to go to hell? I have told thee in the explication; but let me apply it to thee now.

"Conſider thou art going to a place, prepared by God on purpoſe to exalt his juſtice in; a place made for no other employment but torments. Hell is God's houſe of correction; and remember God doth all things like himſelf: When God would ſhow his juſtice, and what is the weight of his wrath, he makes a hell, where it ſhall indeed appear to purpoſe. Conſider but what a ſpark of his wrath hath done in this world, and by that, rate the utmoſt of his fury. Let Sodom, Pharaoh, Korah, and multitudes of the like monuments witneſs to thee. Remember that mercy and juſtice are the two great attributes, which God intends the exaltation of by the creature. Then will that be verified, Who knows the power of thine anger? Wo to thy ſoul, when thou ſhalt be ſet up as a butt for the arrows of the Almighty; be made a brier that muſt burn in the fire of his jealouſy forever, and not be conſumed.

"Conſider, God himſelf ſhall be the principal agent in thy miſery. He is that conſuming fire: his breath is the bellows, which blows up the flame of hell forever: he is the devouring fire, the everlaſting burning: and if he puniſh thee, if he meet thee in his fury, he will not meet thee as a man; he will give thee an omnipotent blow. Little doſt thou know what it is to enter the liſts of contention with the Almighty. If his wrath kindle but a little while, we wither before it. Now thou art afraid of the wrath of man: what wilt thou do, when God takes thee in hand?

"Conſider, God will take delight to execute vengeance on thee. God delights in juſtice, and in executing his own decrees. Now it was his eternal decree to deſtroy ſinners forever. He purpoſed to ſhow his power, and make his wrath known, upon the veſſels of wrath fitted to deſtruction. But wo to that ſoul, whom God ſhall delight to puniſh. Now thou laugheſt at the reproofs which God gives thee by his miniſters and people: God will laugh at thee ſhortly. And how wilt thou bear, when he ſhall torment thee, and thou ſhalt roar under thy torments? Thou ſhalt cry for mercy, and he ſhall mock thee. Thou now rejoiceſt in ſinning: he will ere long rejoice in thy calamity.

"Conſider the company thou muſt go to: Thou goeſt to a place prepared for the devil and his angels. Theſe were thy tempters here; they ſhall be thy companions there. Here thou choſeſt communion with them rather than with God and Chriſt; thou muſt have enough of their company ere long. And thy fellows in ſin, with whom thou wenteſt hand in hand here in the world, and delightedſt thyſelf in their ſinful ſociety,—ſome of them have gone before thee to the place of woes, and others will come after thee; and there ſhall you meet together, and there ſhall they curſe thee for thy wicked counſels and perſuaſions, in drawing them to that place of miſery.

"Conſider what muſt be thy employment there.

"1. Sin. Some think ſinning ends with this life; but it is a miſtake. The creature is held under an everlaſting law: the damned increaſe in ſin in hell. Poſſibly the mention of this may pleaſe thee. But remember there ſhall be no pleaſant ſins there; no eating, drinking, ſinging, dancing, wanton dalliance, and drinking ſtolen waters; but damned ſins, bitter helliſh ſins, ſins exaſperated by torments, curſing God, ſpite, rage, and blaſphemy.

"2. Thou ſhalt be delivered up into the hands of the tormentors: then Satan will pay thee thy wages for thy ſervile ſlavery to him, and thou ſhalt know what a cruel maſter thou haſt here ſerved. What cruelty hath Satan ſometime exerciſed to ſome here in this world, that have been poſſeſſed by him, and to others that have ſold themſelves to him! what amazing ſtories doth the world afford of ſuch things! What doſt thou think he will do, when he hath an unlimited commiſſion and full poſſeſſion? How wilt thou endure, when thou ſhalt have a thouſand devils rending, and tearing, and macerating thee; when all the rage of hell ſhall fall upon thee without reſtraint?

"3. The never-dying worm ſhall gnaw and eat out all the heart of thy comfort. Thou ſhalt become thy own executioner: thy conſcience ſhall purſue thee in hell, always crying out againſt thee, and bringing bitter things to thy mind, making thee to wring thy hands, and howl out ſad lamentations. Thou canſt hardly ſit under one of theſe lectures now coming from the mouth of a poor miniſter; but let me tell thee, conſcience in hell will read it after another manner than can now be conceived; every thought and conſideration whereof will be a ſharp dagger at thy heart, that will let out all joy and comfort out of thy ſoul.

"Remember how univerſal all this torment ſhall be. Here uſually our pain is but in one part of the body; and yet what a miſery it is to all the reſt by ſympathy? But then, ſoul and body ſhall be filled brimful: the guilt of all thy ſins ſhall be laid upon thy ſoul; and be made ſo many heaps of fuel; when that tender and delicate body ſhall have all its beauty blaſted and pride conſumed; when the flames ſhall have no reſpect to its comelineſs; when every member's pain ſhall be intolerable, and that inſupportable miſery ſhall ſpread itſelf through the whole man; when eyes, ears, hands, feet, heart, and all, ſhall be tormented in that flame.

"Conſider how near the time haſtens, when all this muſt come to paſs upon thee. Time is almoſt gone with thee, and thou ſtandeſt at the gate of eternity; and death is waiting upon thee, to tranſport thee away to the place of all thy miſeries. Shortly thou muſt die, and it will be but a moment from thence to hell. When thou haſt ſinned away a few more days, watched and ſlept out a few more nights, away thou goeſt irrecoverably. It may be thou dreameſt of many days to come; but, thou fool, how knoweſt thou but thy ſoul may be called for this very night; and the day of judgment is not far off.

"Sinner, I beſeech thee, realize the truth of theſe things. Do not go about to dream that this is derogatory to God's mercy, and nothing but a vain fable to ſcare children out of their wits withal. God can be merciful, though he make thee miſerable. He ſhall have monuments enough of that precious attribute, ſhining like ſtars in the place of glory, and ſinging eternal hallelujahs to the praiſe of him that redeemed them; though to exalt the power of his juſtice, he damn ſinners heaps upon heaps."

The concluſions of the other ſermons are in general equally alarming. Indeed the author of them appears to have thought it his duty, conſtantly to perſuade men by the terrours of the Lord: and though in his firſt diſcourſe he profeſſes to "preach comfort and joy to the penitent, as well as hell and damnation to the impenitent"; yet few words of comfort are to be found, whilſt there are denunciations of wrath in almoſt every page. The effect of his preaching was, that his hearers were, ſeveral times in the courſe of his miniſtry, awakened and alarmed.—That they were a holy and godly people, he himſelf teſtified; and he doubtleſs rejoiced in the perſuaſion, that he had been the happy inſtrument of their converſion. His beſt friends, however, allowed that he dwelt too much on the anger of God; and an inſtance is related of an innocent young man, who was ſo frightened with one of his dreadful pictures of the infernal regions, as nearly to be deprived of his ſenſes. Mr. Treat, who really poſſeſſed great kindneſs of heart, became ſeriouſly concerned at his ſituation, and with aſſiduity and tenderneſs exerted himſelf to conſole him.

But with the advantage of proclaiming the doctrine of terrour, which is naturally productive of a ſublime and impreſſive ſtyle of eloquence,* he could not attain the character of a popular preacher. His voice was ſo loud, that when ſpeaking, it could be heard at a great diſtance from the meeting houſe, even amidſt the ſhrieks of

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[*] "Triumphat ventoſo gloriæ curru orator, qui pectus angit, irritat, et implet terroribus." Vid. Burnet. de Stat. Mort. p. 309.

of hyſterical women, and the winds that howled over the plains of Nauſet; but there was no more muſick in it, than in the diſcordant ſounds with which it was mingled. An anecdote, which ſhows how much the excellence of his matter was injured by the badneſs of his manner, has been preſerved.

After his marriage with the daughter of Mr. Willard, he was ſometimes invited by that gentelman to preach in his pulpit. Mr. Willard poſſeſſed a graceful delivery, a maſculine and harmonious voice; and though he did not gain much reputation by his Body of Divinity, which is frequently ſneered at, particularly by thoſe who have not read it; yet in his ſermons are ſtrength of thought and energy of language. The natural conſequence was, that he was generally admired. Mr. Treat, having preached one of his beſt diſcourſes, to the congregation of his father-in-law, in his uſual unhappy manner, excited univerſal diſguſt; and ſeveral nice judges waited on Mr Willard, and begged that Mr. Treat, who was a worthy, pious man, it was true, but a wretched preacher, might never be invited into his pulpit again.—To this requeſt, Mr. Willard made no reply: but he deſired his ſon-in-law to lend him the diſcourſe; which, being left with him, he delivered it, without alteration, to his people, a few weeks after. The hearers were charmed: They flew to Mr. Willard, and requeſted a copy for the preſs. See the difference, they cried, between yourſelf and your ſon-in-law: you have preached a ſermon on the ſame text as Mr. Treat's; but whilſt his was contemptible, yours is excellent.*

Mr. Treat was a man of piety. He addreſſed his Maker with humble devotion, and his prayers were copious and fervent. His natural temper was mild; and his conduct in domeſtick life, as a huſband, a parent, and a maſter, was kind and indulgent. His manners were cheerful; his converſation pleaſant, and ſometimes facetious, but always decent. He was fond of a ſtroke of humour and a practical a practical joke, and manifeſted his reliſh for them by long and loud fits of laughter. The Society for the propagation of the goſpel is ſuppoſed to have made him a ſmall compenſation for his ſervices among the Indians: he received alſo a ſmall ſalary from his pariſhioners: but not ſatisfied with the emoluments which he derived from theſe ſources, in the latter part of his life, he engaged in trade; and by this means, with the addition of an inheritance which deſcended from his father, he was able to tranſmit a good eſtate to his family.

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* Mr. Willard, after producing the ſermon in the hand writing of Mr. Treat, might have addreſſed theſe ſage criticks in the words of Phædrus:

" En hic declarat, quales ſitis judices." Lib. V. Fab. 5.

Rev. Samuel Oſborn, who was born in Ireland, and educated in the univerſity of Dublin, was the ſecond miniſter of Eaſtham: He was ordained September 18th. 1718.* The next year, the church being divided into two, Mr. Oſborn removed into the ſouth part of the townſhip.

Rev. Benjamin Webb was ordained paſtor of the church that remained. The moſt remarkable event, which took place after his ſettlement in Eaſtham, was the declaration of the miniſters in the county of Barnſtable againſt itinerant preaching. This was particularly aimed at Mr. Whitfield. The character of this celebrated preacher, who was viewed in various lights by his contemporaries, is not yet determined. Thoſe who now read his ſermons, and who are diſguſted with the enthuſiaſm and egotiſm, which are diſplayed in his journals, written in his youth, will be diſpoſed to judge unfavourably of his talents: whilſt thoſe, who have witneſſed his aſtoniſhing oratorical powers,—and there are ſtill alive many perſons who have heard him preach,—will claſs him with the great men of the age. That he poſſeſſed acuteneſs of mind is proved by his controverſial writings, in which it muſt be allowed, even by thoſe who do not approve his opinions, that he was an ingenious diſputant. The qualities of his heart have been as much the ſubject of diſpute as thoſe of his head. That he was vain, raſh, and cenſorious, particularly in his youth, cannot be denied: but at the ſame time it cannot be denied, that he was devout, ardent, zealous, and active; a loyal ſubject of the government, under which he lived; charitable to the poor; and candid in acknowledging his faults, a rare virtue,

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* Orleans Church Records.

tue, and therefore the more to be prized.* His ſincerity has been queſtioned; but ſuch open, unguarded, and fervent men are not often inſincere. Whether his preaching was productive of good or evil, is not agreed: it probably effected both. The declaration of the miniſters in the county of Barnſtable ſtates only the miſchiefs, which, they ſay, flow from it; and they are theſe: That it tends to deſtroy the uſefulneſs of miniſters among their people, in places where the goſpel is ſettled, and faithfully preached in its purity: And that it promotes ſtrife and contention, a cenſorious and uncharitable ſpirit, and thoſe numerous ſchiſms and ſeparations, which have already deſtroyed the peace and unity, and at this time threaten the ſubverſion of many churches.† To this declaration Mr. Webb ſubſcribed his name, with nine other miniſters of the county: and it was one of the laſt acts of his life; for he died Auguſt 21ſt. 1746, in the fifty-firſt year of his age, and the twenty-ſeventh of his miniſtry.‡

Though Mr. Whitfield's admirers may cenſure him for his conduct, yet it is the only fault which they can allege againſt Mr. Webb. That he was a pious, learned, laborious and faithful miniſter, and that he was holy and unblameable in all the walks of life, is the univerſal voice of tradition, confirmed by the report of the ſurviving friends, who were acquainted with his worth. Mr. Crocker, the paſtor of the ſouth church of Eaſtham, a man of virtue himſelf, and a good judge of moral merit, pronounced him the beſt man, and the beſt miniſter, whom he ever knew. As he ſpent his days in the uniform diſcharge of his duty, and there were no ſhades to give relief to his character, not much can be ſaid of him. His heart was as pure as the new fallen ſnow, which completely covers every dark ſpot in a field; his mind was as ſerene as the ſky in a mild evening of June, when the full moon ſhines without a cloud. Name any virtue, and that virtue he practiſed; name any vice, and that vice he ſhunned. But if peculiar qualities marked his character, they were his humility, his gentleneſs, and his love of God. The people had long been taught by a ſon of thunder: in him they were inſtructed by a ſon of conſolation, who ſweetly allured them to virtue by ſoft perſuaſion and by exhibiting the mercy of the Supreme Being: for his thoughts were ſo much in heaven, that they ſeldom deſcended to the diſmal regions below: and though of the ſame religious ſentiments as Mr. Treat, yet his attention was turned to thoſe glad tidings of great joy, which a Saviour came to publiſh. His viſits were as beneficial to his flock as his ſermons; for he had the happy talent of giving converſation a practical turn, and of enforcing the precepts which he had taught in the pulpit.

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* See Whitfield's Remarks on the Enthuſiaſm of Methodiſts and Papiſts compared. Boſton. 1749. p. 13, 23, 24.

† Declaration, &c. Feb. 20th. 1745. Boſton: Printed 1745.

‡ Inſcription on the grave ſtone of Mr. Webb.

In 1751, Rev. Edward Cheever was inſtalled paſtor of the church. Twelve years after his ſettlement, Eaſtham, in number of inhabitants, was the firſt townſhip in the county; but Wellfleet being ſeparated from it at that period, four townſhips immediately roſe above it. When the cenſus was taken in 1764, there were found in Eaſtham thirteen hundred and thirty-one ſouls, and nine hundred and twenty-eight in Wellfleet. Theſe townſhips continued to flouriſh, till the revolutionary war ſtopped their further progreſs. In 1776, Eaſtham contained eighteen hundred and ninety-nine inhabitants, and Wellfleet twelve hundred and thirty-five. After this period both townſhips, and particularly Wellfleet, ſuffered greatly.* With the peace, proſperity returned. But, in 1790, the ancient townſhip of Eaſtham had not attained its former population; for it had then only two thouſand nine hundred and fifty-one inhabitants, of whom eleven hundred and ſeventeen were in Wellfleet. Mr. Cheever, after ſerving the church of Eaſtham near forty-three years, died Auguſt 17th. 1794, in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age.

The church did not long remain vacant; for September 23d. 1795, Rev. Philander Shaw was ordained. Eighteen months after this event, the ſouth precinct was ſeparated from Eaſtham, and incorporated into a townſhip. Before this diviſion took place, the two religious ſocieties conſtituted one pariſh; the miniſters being paid an equal ſum out of the treaſury of the town. The portion of land, which retains the ancient name, is now a place of ſmall importance. It contains fewer inhabitants than any other townſhip in the county; and as nature has not beſtowed on it a good harbour, and it is impoſſible to form one by art, the fiſhing towns in the vicinity will probably long maintain above it that ſuperiority, which they have acquired. Since, however, the cenſus of 1800, when its inhabitants were enumerated at ſix hundred and fifty-nine, it has increaſed in population. The people are induſtrious and enterpriſing, and ſtill retain the other good habits, which did honour to their fathers; and they are happily united in the ſame mode of religious worſhip; there being, in Eaſtham, not an individual, who does not belong to the Congregational ſociety. *r. s.*

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* See Coll. Hiſt. Soc. Vol. III. p. 18.

A DESCRIPTION OF ORLEANS, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER, 1802.

THE ſouth part of Eaſtham was incorporated into a townſhip, by the name of Orleans, March 3d. 1797. Its diſtance from Boſton is ninety-one miles: and it is bounded, on the eaſt, by the ocean; on the ſouth, by Pleaſant bay; on the weſt, by Harwich; and on the north-weſt, by Barnſtable bay. The county, which ſtretches eaſt from Buzzard's bay to this place, here turns to the north, and extends that courſe to Truro. The length of the townſhip is five miles; and the breadth, from one to four miles.

The face of the land is uneven; but the hills are not very high. The county road runs through a corner of the townſhip, and is here tedious and heavy. The road from Cape Cod to Chatham paſſes on its weſtern ſide, and is of the ſame quality. On the necks, where the beſt land lies, the roads are tolerable; but theſe are out of the way of the traveller.

Orleans is of a very irregular form, the lines which ſeparate it from the adjoining townſhips being crooked, and its ſhores being indented by coves and creeks.

Town Cove has already been deſcribed. The neck on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of it is called Tone-ſet: the land is pretty good.

A river, without a name, runs into Pleaſant bay. The head of it is called Zeb's cove, where it is narrow; but it is a half of a mile wide at its mouth. Veſſels, which draw ſeven feet of water, can come a half of a mile below this cove; the diſtance of the northern part of which from the mouth of the river is two miles and a half. The land eaſt of this river is named Barley neck. The ſoil is ſomewhat better than that of Toneſet. On the eaſt ſide of Barley neck are coves, which communicate with Pleaſant bay, and which ſeparate it from Chatham beach.

The land, which is ſituated between Barley and Toneſet necks, and which terminates in Wood's neck, is named Pochet, pronounced at preſent Pochee. There is alſo here a little good ſoil, but a larger proportion which is light and ſandy.

North-eaſt of Pochet, near the ocean, is a ſmall neck, named Weeſet. It is ſeparated from Toneſet by a cove.

Theſe ſeveral necks conſtitute a peninſula, the whole of which is denominated Pochet. The iſthmus is not more than a half of a mile wide; and is ſituated between Town cove on the north, and Zeb's cove on the ſouth.

Chatham beach forms the barrier of the waters, which waſh the eaſtern and ſouthern ſhores of Orleans. A mile ſouth of the mouth of Stage or Nauſet harbour, it joins the main land, with the exception mentioned in another part of this volume.* Below the junction, the water is at firſt ſhallow; but it deepens by degrees, and at length communicates with Pleaſant bay and Chatham harbour. South of this place was, many years ago, the mouth of Nauſet harbour; which being filled up gradually, a new opening, above a mile north of it, was ſuddenly made in the beach. Salt marſh, with a few interruptions, lines the inſide of this beach, and extends almoſt to the mouth of Chatham harbour.

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* See p. 116.

There are ſeveral iſlands in Pleaſant bay, within the limits of Orleans. The largeſt is Pochet iſland, which is ſituated eaſt of Barley neck, and is the beſt land in the townſhip. On its north-eaſt ſide is a ſmall body of ſalt marſh.

South-weſt of Pochet iſland, is Sampſon's iſland, containing about twenty acres of tolerable land. Eaſt of it, and near it, is a larger body of ſalt marſh. On the ſouth, Hog iſland, of the dimenſion of ten acres, joins it at low water.

Southerly of Hog iſland is Sipſon's iſland, of the extent of twenty acres.

Theſe iſlands add beauty to the haven, and give it a juſt title to the name which it has received, that of Pleaſant bay.

Oppoſite to Orleans, or Eaſtham, in the ocean, it is ſaid, is the point, where the tides from Narraganſet and Maſſachuſetts bays meet, and whence they ſeparate, the flow of the ſea above this point being toward the north, and below it toward the ſouth.*

Leaving the peninſula of Pochet, and travelling round Orleans river, on the weſt ſide of it is Naumkoyick neck; which is formed by Higgins' river on the north of it, and Naumkoyick creek on the ſouth.

The ſouth quarter of the townſhip is called Potanumaquut. The territory, which retains this ancient Indian name, is partly in Harwich. The land here is light and ſandy; the greateſt part cleared; a part covered with bruſh wood; and a ſmall part with oaks and pines.

In the north-weſt quarter of the townſhip, on Barnſtable bay, is Namſkeket creek, which is three quarters of a mile long, and which, as far as it runs, is the dividing line between Orleans and Harwich. It is very narrow; and its mouth is not quite ſo deep as Rock harbour. The territory near it, as well as the creek itſelf, is at preſent called Skaket. The land is light and ſandy.

Little Skaket creek, which is a mile north-eaſt of it, is ſtill ſmaller.

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* MS. Lett. from Rev. Levi Whitman. Mr. W. does not conſider this as a fact eſtabliſhed beyond diſpute; but requeſts farther information from judicious ſeamen.

Rock harbour creek, a mile north-eaſt of Little Skaket, runs a mile and a half, and affords the beſt harbour at its mouth. It is however nearly dry at low water; and at high tide is not more than ſeven feet deep.

On all theſe three creeks there are bodies of ſalt marſh.

Though the townſhip is not ſupplied with brooks, yet there are not leſs than ſixteen ponds, which ſerve for the watering of cattle and other purpoſes.

From the deſcription already given, it appears that there is a portion of good land in this townſhip; but the ſoil in the greateſt part of it is light and ſandy; and in ſome places abſolutely barren.

Pochet iſland, where a ſmall quantity of wheat is grown, will produce twenty buſhels of Indian corn to an acre, without manure. Barley and Toneſet necks will yield fifteen buſhels without, and thirty with, manure. Three crops in ſucceſſion are frequently taken from the good land: the firſt year, Indian corn; the ſecond, hill rye; the third, ſtubble rye. The rye is ſown in Auguſt.

The light lands of Orleans and Eaſtham, which do not differ from each other eſſentially, produce from five to eight buſhels of rye, and ten buſhels of Indian corn, to an acre, without manure; and with manure, fifteen or twenty. A quarter, and ſometimes a third, of the land, fit for cultivation, in both theſe townſhips, is annually in grain.

The horſe-foot, or king crab, was formerly much uſed for manuring land, ſet with Indian corn and potatoes; and it is ſtill employed in Orleans, in the ſouth part of Dennis, and in other parts of the county. It is chopped into ſmall pieces, and not more than one, and ſometimes not more than a quarter, put into a hill. As it contains an abundance of oil, it affords a ſtrong manure; and with it the light lands may be made to yield twenty buſhels of corn to an acre. It is however too hot a manure, and cauſes the land to exert itſelf ſo much, that it cannot eaſily recover its ſtrength. Attention of late is paid to the collection of ſea weed from the ſhore. When corn is to be raiſed, it is ſpread on the land; and it is put into the holes for potatoes. It is a preſervative againſt worms; five ſorts of which, in this place, and in other parts of the county, are very deſtructive to Indian corn.

The firſt is the *web worm*; a ſmall, taper worm, of a gray colour, about a half of an inch in length. As ſoon as the corn comes up, it forms about the root a web, which cannot be ſeen without opening the earth. It aſcends in the night, and devours the blade. About the 20th. of June, it ceaſes eating.

The ſecond is the *gray worm*; about an inch in length, and thicker than the web worm. It forms no web, deſcends into the ground in the day, riſes in the night, and devours the blade; continues eating much longer than the web worm, and is very deſtructive.

The third is the *half-hill worm*; an inch long, bluiſh, and red-headed; firſt appears the 20th. of June; draws the blade under ground, and there devours it; ceaſes eating the 1ſt. of July.

The fourth is the *root worm*; ſmall at firſt, but an inch and a half long, when fully grown; white, with a tawny head; ſix claws; begins to eat in the middle of June, and ceaſes eating the 1ſt. of Auguſt: frequently deſtroys entire fields. Dung and aſhes are the beſt antidotes againſt it.

The fifth is the *ear worm*; which, after the ear is formed, eats the grains and between them; about an inch long; taper; ſtriped with brown and white; begins to eat about the middle of Auguſt, and continues eating two or three weeks; the grains, which it does not devour, are rendered mouldy.

In Eaſtham and Orleans, Indian corn is ſet four and a half or five feet apart. Four ſeeds are dropped into a hole. But the four firſt mentioned worms deſtroy ſo many of the ſtalks, that ſeldom more than two or three remain. Provided they ſhould all eſcape, the beſt farmers pull up one. In Dennis, two only are ſuffered to be in a hill. In this county, corn is at preſent hilled very little, experience having ſhown, that the former practice of heaping up the earth about it is not neceſſary either to its growth or ſtability. Horſe-hoeing is performed in ſeveral places with a ſmall harrow, inſtead of a plough. The ſame mode has been adopted by a few perſons in other parts of the ſtate. And ſometimes, firſt the plough, and then the harrow, are uſed, without raiſing any hill at all. The corn in the county of Barnſtable is large and ſolid: a buſhel of it weighs ſixty pounds. Four or five hundred buſhels of corn are annually ſent from Orleans to Boſton market. The fiſhermen, however, frequently purchaſe this article in the capital for the uſe of their families.

Other vegetables are raiſed, ſufficient for the conſumption of the inhabitants. Butter is made for ſummer uſe, and a little cheeſe. Some cattle are fattened, and ſeveral ſold in the townſhips below. Not more than ten tons of Engliſh hay are cut; but between ſix hundred and a thouſand tons of ſalt hay. The ſalt marſhes are of two kinds: one, covered every tide; the other, at ſpring tides only.

There are ſmall orchards, ſeveral of which have lately been planted; but no cider is made. The greening, which is a low tree, ſucceeds better than any other. Fruit trees cannot be made to grow within a mile of the ocean. Even thoſe, which are placed at a greater diſtance, are injured by the eaſt winds; and after violent ſtorms in the ſpring, a ſaltiſh taſte is perceptible on their bark.

Very little wood is left in the townſhip; but the inhabitants are obliged, either to purchaſe their fuel, or to have recourſe to peat and turf. Happily there are ſeveral ſwamps and meadows, which contain this neceſſary ſubſtitute. The people were ignorant that they poſſeſſed this article, till, many years ago, Mr. Oſborn, their miniſter, who had learned the uſe of it in Ireland, firſt pointed it out, and taught them the art of drying and preparing it.

The ſhores of Orleans are more fertile than the land. Sea fowls may be obtained by thoſe who will ſeek for them, though not in ſuch abundance as at Chatham. Fiſhes are the ſame as in other towns of the county. A few tautaug are caught in Town cove. Baſs enter the waters within the beach the 1ſt. of June, and are caught with hooks. In the ocean, a few rods from the beach, they are taken with ſeines, during the ſummer. Eels are ſo plenty, that in the winter, when the coves are covered with ice, a hundred buſhels are ſometimes, by a company of twenty or thirty perſons, collected in a day.

Though no oyſters are to be found on the ſhores, yet quahaugs and clams are in greater profuſion than in any other part of the county.

The quahaug (*venus mercenaria*) called by R. Williams the *poquau* and the *hen*,* is a round, thick ſhell fiſh, or, to ſpeak more properly, worm. It does not bury itſelf but a little way in the ſand; is generally found lying on it, in deep water; and is gathered up with iron rakes made for the purpoſe. After the tide ebbs away, a few are picked up on the ſhore below high water mark. The quahaug is not much inferiour in reliſh to the oyſter, but is leſs digeſtible. It is not eaten raw; but is cooked in various modes, being roaſted in the ſhell, or opened and boiled, fried, or made into ſoups or pies. About half of an inch of the inſide of the ſhell, is of a purple colour. This the Indians broke off, and converted into beads, named by them *ſuckauhock*, or black money; which was of twice the value of their *wompom*, or white money, made of the *meteauhock*, or periwinkle.

The razor ſhell (*ſolen*) is ſo named from its reſemblance in ſize and ſhape to the haft of a razor. It is ſaid to force itſelf, not only upwards and downwards, but diagonally. This motion is effected by means of a round, fleſhy protuberance, as long as the little finger of a man's hand, and compoſed of rings. There is more irritability in this worm than in the clam. Several days after the razor ſhell has been caught, if the protuberance is held between the fingers, and is touched with the point of a knife, the worm draws itſelf up to it with force. This worm is not common in the bay of Maſſachuſetts, though it has ſometimes been obtained there. The open ſhells, however, are to be found on Chelſea beach, a few miles from Boſton. The ſhells, with the living worms in them, can without much difficulty be procured at Orleans and other parts of the county of Barnſtable; but as they are not taken, except a few at a time, they are not often eaten.

The ſea clam, which is at preſent called the *hen*, the quahaug having loſt that appellation, is bivalve (as are alſo the quahaug and razor ſhell) and oval. It is generally found in deep water, and is gathered with rakes, not being buried far in the ſand. As it has frequently been known to injure the ſtomach, it is not often eaten. Before the

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* Coll. Hiſt. Soc. Vol. III. p. 224. *Poquauhock*, corrupted into *quahaug*, or *quauhog*, is the word with a plural termination.

Indians learned of the Engliſh the uſe of a more convenient inſtrument, they hilled their corn with hoes made of theſe ſhells, to which purpoſe they are well adapted by their ſize. If a handle could be eaſily fixed to them, they might be employed as ladles and ſpoons.

The clam *(mya arenaria)* is of the ſame ſhape, but much ſmaller. This worm is buried in the ſand, from four to eighteen inches deep. A ſmall perforation, through which, after the tide has ebbed away, it ejects water perpendicularly, marks the ſpot where it lies. The worm has the power of thruſting upwards its black head, or ſnout, and of drawing it down again. This ſnout is frequently bitten off by flounders and other fiſhes. Whether the ſhell moves or not, the writer is unable to determine, as he has received contradictory accounts. The Indians were very fond of clams, which they called *ſickiſhuog*.* Being unacquainted with ſalt, they made uſe of them and of their natural liquor, to ſeaſon their naſaump and boiled maize. Many of the deſcendants of the Engliſh conſider clams as excellent food. But they require ſtrong ſtomachs to digeſt them, unleſs the whole of the ſnout is rejected. They would be more valued, if they were leſs common. But as long as a peck of clams, which are ſufficient to afford a ſmall family a dinner, can be procured with little more labour than a peck of ſand, they will not be much prized. The clam continues alive ſeveral days after it is taken from its hole. This is well known to fiſhermen; and is proved by the following ſingular fact.

A gentleman, not far from Boſton, ordered a number of clams to be dug, and to be put into his cellar, intending to make uſe of them as bait. They remained there ſeveral days, when the ſhells, as is uſual, beginning to open, a rat thruſt his paw into one of them, attempting to pull out the worm. The two ſhells cloſed together with force, and held him faſt. As the clam was too big to be dragged through his hole, the rat was unable to make his eſcape; and at length his cries excited the attention of the family, who came and ſaw him in the ſituation deſcribed.

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* This is a word with a plural termination See Coll. Hiſt. Soc. Vol. III. p. 224. If the author might be allowed to revive an old term, he would denominate the common, or ſmall clam, the *ſicki*, a word of eaſy pronunciation, and which would diſtinguiſh it from the freſh water clam and the three other teſtaceous worms above mentioned.

Clams are found on many parts of the ſhores of New England; but no where in greater abundance than at Orleans. Formerly five hundred barrels were annually dug here for bait; but the preſent year a thouſand barrels have been collected. Between a hundred and two hundred of the pooreſt of the inhabitants are employed in this buſineſs; and they receive from their employers three dollars a barrel, for digging the clams, opening, ſalting them, and filling the caſks. From twelve to eighteen buſhels of clams in the ſhell muſt be dug, to fill, when opened, a barrel. A man by this labour can earn ſeventy-five cents a day; and women and children are alſo engaged in it. A barrel of clams is worth ſix dollars: the employers therefore, after deducting the expenſe of the ſalt and the caſks, which they ſupply, ſtill obtain a handſome profit.

A thouſand barrels of clams are equal in value to ſix or eight thouſand buſhels of Indian corn; and are procured with not more labour and expenſe. When therefore the fiſhes, with which the coves of Orleans abound, are alſo taken into conſideration, they may juſtly be regarded as more beneficial to the inhabitants, than if the ſpace which they occupy was covered with the moſt fertile ſoil. The riches which they yield are inexhauſtible, provided they are not too wantonly laviſhed. For after a portion of the ſhore has been dug over, and almoſt all the clams taken up, at the end of two years, it is ſaid, they are as plenty there as ever. It is even affirmed by many perſons, that it is as neceſſary to ſtir the clam ground frequently, as it is to hoe a field of potatoes; becauſe if this labour is omitted, the clams will be crowded too cloſely together, and will be prevented from increaſing in ſize.

The land of Orleans being cultivated by none but the old men and ſmall boys, the flower of the people, between the ages of twelve and forty-five, are engaged in the codfiſhery. As, however, not a fiſhing veſſel is owned by the inhabitants, they ſail from Duxbury, Plymouth, Chatham, Provincetown, and other places. The only veſſels belonging to Orleans are three coaſters, which bring fire wood and lumber from the diſtrict of Maine, and one packet, which ſails to Boſton from Rock harbour.

When the cenſus was taken in 1800, the number of inhabitants was a thouſand and ninety-five. There are at preſent a hundred and ſeventy-four families, who occupy a hundred and forty-one dwelling houſes. Theſe houſes are in general neat, convenient buildings; but five of them only are two ſtories in height. The houſes in no part of the townſhip are collected into a village, though in the neighbourhood of the meeting houſe they are nearer together than in any other place. There are three ſchool houſes. The meeting houſe, which has lately been repaired, ſtands on the iſthmus of Pochet.

The inhabitants are Congregationaliſts. Their firſt miniſter, Mr. Oſborn, was a man of wiſdom and virtue. Beſide teaching his people the uſe of peat, he contributed much to their proſperity, by introducing new improvements in agriculture, and by ſetting them the example of economy and induſtry. But his good qualities and ſervices did not avail him: for embracing the religion of Arminius, his pariſhioners, who ſtill retained the faith of Calvin, thought proper to diſmiſs him about the year 1737. From Eaſtham he removed to Boſton, where he kept a private grammar ſchool eight or ten years. He died about thirty years ago, aged between ninety and a hundred.

He was ſucceeded by Rev. Joſeph Crocker, who was ordained September 12th. 1739.* Mr. Crocker was a ſtrict Calviniſt, a man of prudence, faithful as a miniſter, but deſtitute of popular talents as a ſpeaker, a hard ſtudent in theology, but without much information on other ſubjects, mild in his temper and affectionate in his manners, greatly beloved by his people, and exemplarily pious. He died March 2d. 1772.

Rev. Jonathan Baſcom, the preſent paſtor, was ordained October 14th. 1772.* *Senex emunctæ naris, doctus, et auctor elegantium verborum; facetus, et dulcis feſtique ſermonis.* r. s.

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* Orleans Chh. Rec.

NOTE ON WELLFLEET, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE, EXTRACTED FROM A LETTER FROM REV. LEVI WHITMAN, DATED OCTOBER 8TH. 1802.

THE number of veſſels owned in Wellfleet is twenty-five. Five are engaged in the whale fiſhery this year at the Straits of Belle Iſle and Newfoundland. They carry ſalt; and what they want in loading with oil, they make up in cod fiſh. Of theſe, one is of a hundred tons, three of ſeventy-five, and one of fifty-ſeven. There are four veſſels, that are engaged in the cod and mackerel fiſhery chiefly; which are one of fifty-four tons, the other three of about forty tons each. Four veſſels are employed in carrying oyſters to Boſton, Salem, Newbury-port, and Portland, containing about thirty tons each. The other twelve are ſmall veſſels, containing from ſixteen to twenty-five tons each; and are engaged in fiſhing round the Cape. They take mackerel, cod, and haddock; and when they load quick with halibut, they run into Boſton, and likewiſe with mackerel.

A DESCRIPTION OF PROVINCETOWN, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE, SEPTEMBER, 1802.

IN the third volume of the Maſſachuſetts Magazine is an entertaining deſcription of Provincetown. To that intereſting paper, which was written in 1790, the following is intended as a ſupplement.

Provincetown is ſituated in latitude 42°. 03′. N. and longitude 70°. 09′. W. from Greenwich. It is bounded on the ſouth-eaſt by Truro. The length of the townſhip, from theſe limits to Wood end, is three miles and a half. The mean breadth is two miles and a half. Its diſtance from Boſton, by land, is a hundred and twenty miles.

The townſhip conſiſts of beaches and hills of ſand, eight ſhallow ponds, and a great number of ſwamps. The moſt remarkable of the latter is named the Shank-painter; beginning near the meeting houſe, and extending a mile in length. The little wood, which remains, is principally pitch pines. Small trees of maple, beech, and aſpen are in the ſwamps. The buſhes are whortleberries, four ſpecies, (perhaps two of the four varieties only) bay-berries, and box-berries : there are alſo a few beach plums.

Great attention is now paid to the tranſplanting of beach graſs, on the ſides of the hills and other naked ſpots near the town. The roots are ſet three or four feet apart in the ſpring ; and the graſs, being propagated both by the roots and the ſeed, forms a cloſe body in three or four years. There are ſeveral other plants, which grow on the beaches, beſide thoſe mentioned in the Deſcription of Chatham. Among theſe is the rupture-wort *(herniaria glabra)*. This is a ſmall, low plant ; which, when broken, exudes a kind of milky ſubſtance. A decoction of it is ſaid, but probably without reaſon, to be good in conſumptive caſes.

The townſhip is in the form of a hook : the ocean is on the north ; Barnſtable bay on the weſt ; and Cape Cod harbour on the ſouth, within the curve. The ſouthern extremity of Herring cove, which is deſcribed in another part of the volume,* is Wood end. A ſhoal extends from it, a half of a mile, weſt ſouth weſt, called Wood-end Bar. Wood end is half way between Race point and the end of Long point ; and ought not to be confounded with the latter, as it ſometimes erroneouſly is by ſtrangers. The ſhore at Race point, and on the outſide of Long point, is very bold. The diſtance between theſe two points is ſix miles.

Long point is a low, ſandy beach, which can with difficulty be diſcerned in the night ; but which is dry at high water. Unfortunately, Des Barres, who, with a few exceptions, is entitled to the higheſt applauſe for his great accuracy in delineating the coaſt, has laid down this point as a ſhoal ; which has led all other map makers, who have followed him, into a miſtake. It ought to have been marked with a line on both ſides, and dotted, like the beach of Chatham. The chart of Captain John Foſter Williams will convey a good idea of it. This point is from a hundred to five hundred yards in breadth. A ſhoal extends from its end, ſouth ſouth eaſt, a quarter of a mile.

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* See p. 110.

Cape Cod harbour is formed by the bending of the land, from Pamet river to Long point, nearly round every point of the compaſs: it is completely land-locked. The diſtance from Long point to the ſhore of Truro is four miles; and from the ſame point to the town, two miles. The depth of water in the anchoring ground is from three to fourteen fathoms: the beſt holding ground is in four fathoms and a half. Veſſels anchor about three quarters of a mile from the town. The head of the harbour is toward Wood end. There are here flats extending three quarters of a mile from the ſhore. Flats lie all along the ſhore; but do not reach ſo far, except at Eaſt harbour, where they alſo extend three quarters of a mile.

In ſailing from Race point, at the diſtance of a half of a mile from it, into the harbour, the courſe is ſouth-ſouth eaſt, till the light houſe bears eaſt by north. Keep this courſe the diſtance of two miles. Then run north-eaſt, till the light-houſe bears eaſt by ſouth. After which ſteer north-weſt into the harbour.*

A creek, called the Mill creek, becauſe there was formerly a mill on it, runs into the weſtern part of the harbour. It is about a mile in length, and is nearly dry at low water.

Common tides in the harbour riſe twelve feet.

This harbour and the waters near it afford a great variety and abundance of excellent and profitable fiſhes. Herrings are caught, principally in the harbour, from the firſt of October to the firſt of December. Laſt year, between five and ſix thouſand barrels were taken: worth about four dollars a barrel. Baſs are caught in the harbour, and ſometimes on the outſide of Wood end, from the firſt of May till the laſt of November; about three hundred quintals annually, beſide what are daily eaten by the inhabitants: worth four dollars a quintal. The firſt mackerel, which are carried to Boſton market in the ſpring, are taken in the harbour; and yield a handſome profit, though the Boſton marketmen purchaſe them of the inhabitants of Provincetown at about a quarter of what they are ſold for in the capital. Three hundred barrels are every year pickled and ſent to Boſton. The mackerel, baſs, and herring are caught with ſeines, of which there are about fifty in the town, and which coſt a hundred dollars each. Another ſeine, worth ſix dollars, is made uſe of for catching mackerel in the ſpring, and herring for bait. Of this kind there are about two hundred. Beſide the boats belonging to the fiſhing veſſels, there are a dozen whaleboats, and about a hundred more of the ſame form, but ſhorter. The latter catch, annually, about thirty quintals of cod-fiſh each, chiefly off Wood end. Two or three whales, producing about a hundred barrels of oil, are every year caught in the harbour. Black fiſh are now ſeldom obtained. About two hundred ſharks are annually caught at Race point, and yield, one with another, four gallons of oil. There is a large ſhark in the harbour, named the bone-ſhark, and ſimilar in ſhape to the man-eating ſhark, but harmleſs: five or ſix are taken in a year. The other fiſhes in the harbour, and on the coaſt, are the ſturgeon, eels of a ſuperiour quality, and in great abundance, haddock, tom-cod, pollock, flounder, halibut, drummer, manhadon, horſe-mackerel, dog-fiſh, and ſeveral more, enumerated in the Deſcription of Truro.* No cuſk, blue-fiſh, ſheep's-head, tautaug, ſea-perch, are found in the harbour.

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* For directions for ſailing from Boſton light houſe to Cape Cod, the diſtance between which is fifteen leagues, ſee Capt. J. F. Williams's Chart.

There are muſcles, ſea-clams, and quahaugs; but neither oyſters nor ſmall clams. The greateſt part of the clam bait is brought from Orleans, Eaſtham, and Wellfleet.

Lobſters, of an excellent quality, are obtained in great abundance on both ſides of Long point. Five veſſels are conſtantly employed in catching them, and carrying them to the market of New York. Two ſmacks go with them to the Boſton market. Several barrels are pickled, and ſent to the former place.

In 1790, the inhabitants "employed about twenty veſſels in the cod-fiſhery." They now poſſeſs thirty-three veſſels, one of which is a brig, one a ſloop, and the reſt ſchooners: their number of tons is ſeventeen hundred and twenty-two. Two or three of theſe veſſels are occaſionally engaged in the merchants' ſervice.

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* Coll. Hiſt. Soc. Vol. III. p. 199.

vice. Beſide which, four other veſſels, containing about three hundred tons, partly owned in Provincetown and partly in Boſton, are alſo employed in the cod-fiſhery, and fit out, and obtain their crews from this place. The fiſhing veſſels go to the banks of Newfoundland, the coaſt of Labrador, and the bay of Chaleur; and they bring home annually about thirty-three thouſand quintals of fiſh, which are worth, a quintal, about three dollars and a third. This buſineſs employs three hundred men and boys; a quarter of whom belong to other places. Five or ſix of the veſſels are engaged partly in the cod-fiſhery, and partly in the whale-fiſhery: the whale-fiſhery, however, is ſmall, and yields little profit. About half of the fiſh caught from the veſſels are cured at Provincetown. All the proviſions and ſtores for the veſſels and men are procured in Boſton; and the greateſt part of the fiſh ſold in the ſame place. Eight thouſand hogſheads of ſalt are uſed in the fiſheries.

Sea fowls were formerly plenty on the ſhores; but they have been ſo frequently moleſted, that their numbers are much reduced.

The town is a mile and a half long. More than two thirds of the dwelling houſes are built cloſe to the harbour: a few ſtand back in vallies; but none of them far from the ſhore. The number of dwelling houſes is a hundred and forty-four,* eight of which are within the limits of Truro. Two of the houſes only are two ſtories in height. Moſt of theſe houſes are new, neat, painted, and well finiſhed. When the cenſus was taken in 1800, there were eight hundred and twelve ſouls. At preſent, there are a hundred and ninety-eight families. If there be the ſame proportion between the families and ſouls as there was in 1790,† the number of the inhabitants now muſt be nine hundred and forty-ſix.*

There are ninety ſtores, in which fiſh is depoſited, five houſes for the ſmoking of herring, four or five ſhops, twenty barns, and two windmills. One of the windmills goes with fliers in the inſide, and appears like a large and lofty tower. As it ſtands on a high hill, it is ſeen at a great diſtance; and to ſeamen entering the harbour is a conſpicuous object.

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* The number of dwelling houſes and families in Dennis, Orleans, Eaſtham, and Provincetown, as given in this volume, is from actual enumeration.

† See. U. S. Cenſus for 1790, p. 29.

The number of ſalt works is given in the Deſcription of Dennis. Provincetown is remarkably well ſituated for carrying on this uſeful manufacture. The works are erected cloſe to the dwelling houſes, directly under the eye of the owners, and can be covered and uncovered with little expenſe of time: They ſtand under the ſand hills, which face the ſouth, and reflect on them a ſtrong heat: add to which, that no freſh ſtreams run into the harbour, the water of which muſt be as ſalt as that of the ocean. The effect of theſe cauſes is, that the ſame number of ſuperficial feet yield more ſalt, the water evaporating faſter, than in any other part of the county.

The townſhip is the property of the ſtate, and titles are firſt obtained by poſſeſſion and improvement. So many houſes and works have been erected, and the town is in ſo flouriſhing a ſituation, that building ſpots now ſell at a high price: they are transferred by quit-claim deeds.

The other buildings are, a houſe erected by King Hiram's lodge of free maſons, in 1795, the upper apartment of which is a well finiſhed hall, and the lower ſtory of which is divided into two rooms, appropriated to ſchool houſes: two other ſchool houſes: a decent Congregational meeting houſe, erected in 1793: and a ſmall Methodiſt meeting houſe. The Methodiſts, who appeared to flouriſh awhile, are reduced to twelve families.

The climate and diſeaſes of Provincetown do not differ materially from thoſe of other parts of the county. The air, though naturally pure, is rendered unpleaſant by the fiſh flakes which ſurround the houſes. In the year 1794, a fever proved very mortal. It is ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by a number of ſharks, which were left to putrefy on the ſhore near the town. At preſent, the inhabitants appear to be attentive in removing ſuch diſguſting objects out of the way.

Cape Cod was originally a part of Truro. In 1714, it was made a diſtrict or precinct, and put under the conſtablerick of that town. It was incorporated into a townſhip, by the name of Provincetown, June 14th. 1727, 1727, and inveſted with peculiar privileges, the inhabitants being exempted from taxation. At that time, and for ten or twelve years after, it was a flouriſhing place, containing a number of dwelling houſes, and ſeveral ſhops and ſtores. Not long after this period, the inhabitants began to forſake the town; and before the year 1748, it was reduced to two or three families. In 1755, it contained about ten dwelling houſes. No notice is taken of it in the cenſus of 1764. In 1776, there were in it thirty-ſix families, two hundred and five ſouls, and about twenty dwelling houſes. It remained in a ſtate of depreſſion during the revolutionary war; in the former period of which it was in a great meaſure in the power of the enemy, who, whenever they pleaſed, entered the harbour, and exacted thoſe ſupplies, which the inhabitants were able to furniſh. When the bleſſings of peace at length returned, it began to lift up its head; and without meeting with any remarkable misfortune to check its progreſs, it has gradually riſen to its preſent ſtate of proſperity.

During the former flouriſhing period of Provincetown Mr. Spear was the miniſter. His flock having forſaken him, he was compelled at laſt to remove. The church remained without a paſtor a long time; but was occaſionally ſupplied with preachers, the province paying twenty pounds a year for the ſupport of the goſpel. January 20th. 1774, Rev. Samuel Parker was ordained; and for twelve years, received, annually, forty-five pounds from the government. Since that period the paſtor has been ſupported entirely by the inhabitants. *r. s.*

A Calculation of the State of the Cod and Whale Fisheries, belonging to Massachusetts in 1763: copied from a Paper published in 1764

	Sterling.
300 veſſels in the cod-fiſhery caught 102,265 quintals of merchantable fiſh, at 12ſ. -	£.61,359 00
and 137,794 quintals of Weſt-India fiſh, at 9ſ.	62,007 06
	123,366 06

(Carried over

Brought over.	£.123,366 06
90 mackerel veſſels, at 200 barrels each, are 18,000 barrels, at 18*ſ.* - - -	16,200 00
Shad, alewives, and other pickled fiſh, 10,000 barrels, at 10*ſ.* - - - - -	5,000 00
12 barrels of oil to each cod-fiſhing veſſel are 3,600, at 30*ſ.* - - - - -	5,400 00
15,000 hogſheads for packing the Weſt-India fiſh, at 6*ſ.* - - - - - -	4,500 00
Weſt-India fiſh from Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, in return for proviſions, rum, ſugar, and molaſſes - - - -	10,000 00
180 ſail of whale-fiſhing veſſels, the exportations to Great Britain amounting, in oil and bone, to - - - - -	75,000 00
To the Weſt-Indies and the Continent in do.	3,500 00
Total.	£.242,966 06

A Relation or Journal of a Plantation settled at Plymouth in New England, and Proceedings thereof: first printed in 1622, and abbreviated in Purchas's Pilgrims, Book x. Chap. iv. London. 1625. (1)

1. WEDNESDAY, the ſixth of September, the wind coming eaſt-north-eaſt, a fine ſmall gale, we looſed from Plymouth, having been kindly entertained and courteouſly uſed by divers friends there dwelling; and after many difficulties in boiſterous ſtorms, at length,

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(1) Purchas's Pilgrims has become a very ſcarce work. The fifth volume in particular, called the fourth part in the title page, and beginning with the ſixth book and ending with the tenth, is ſo rare, that the Hiſtorical Society has not yet been able to obtain it. This is the more to be regretted, as this volume is the moſt intereſting to the inhabitants of the United States, relating to the diſcovery and plantation of Virginia and New England. In the tenth book are two valuable papers, which give an account of the ſettlement of Plymouth and its hiſtory to September, 1623. Theſe it has been thought proper to

by God's providence, upon the ninth of November following, by break of the day, we eſpied land, which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and ſo afterward it proved. Upon the eleventh of November, we came to an anchor in the bay, which is a good harbour and pleaſant bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about four miles over from land to land, compaſſed about to the very ſea with oaks,(2) pines, juniper, ſaſſafras, and other ſweet wood. It is a harbour wherein a thouſand ſail of ſhips may ſafely ride. There we relieved ourſelves with wood and water, and refreſhed our people, while our ſhallop was fitted to coaſt the bay, to ſearch for an habitation. There was the greateſt ſtore of fowl that ever we ſaw.

2. And every day we ſaw whales playing hard by us; of which in that place, if we had inſtruments and means to take them, we might have made a very rich return, which to our great grief we wanted. Our maſter and his mate, and others, experienced in fiſhing, profeſſed we might have made three or four thouſand pounds worth of oil. They preferred it before Greenland whale-fiſhing, and purpoſe the next winter to fiſh for whale here. For cod we aſſayed, but found none: there is good ſtore no doubt in their ſeaſon. Neither got we any fiſh all the time we lay there, but ſome few little ones on the ſhore. We found great muſcles,(3) and very fat and full of ſea pearl;

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to reprint; and the volume has been borrowed from the library of Harvard college for the purpoſe. The firſt paper here preſented to the publick is anonymous; but it is quoted by Prince and Belknap under the title of Mourt's Relation. Mourt was probably nothing more than the printer or publiſher of the original work, which Purchas has abridged. From internal evidence it appears to have been written by one of the company; and were not the Indian names ſpelled in a manner different from thoſe in the ſecond paper, it might without heſitation be attributed to Winſlow. In this edition the paragraphs are numbered; and notes are added by the editor, *r. s.*

(2) Few trees are now left round Cape Cod harbour. That they were formerly common, appears from the ſtumps ſtill remaining (See Maſſ. Mag. Vol. III. p. 150) and from the name *Wood end*. An aged gentleman has informed the editor, that in 1740, there was a number of *oaks* in the woods north-weſt of Eaſt harbour.

(3) Though muſcles are found in Cape Cod harbour, yet the ſea clam, or *hen*, ſeems to be meant, as it frequently produces on the ſtomach the effects here deſcribed. See Deſcription of Orleans, p. 192.

pearl; but we could not eat them, for they made us all ſick that did eat, as well ſailors as paſſengers. They cauſed to caſt and ſcour; but they were ſoon well again. The bay is ſo round and circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the compaſs. We could not come near the ſhore by three quarters of an Engliſh mile, becauſe of ſhallow water (4); which was a great prejudice to us; for our people, going on ſhore, were forced to wade a bow-ſhot or two in going aland, which cauſed many to get colds and coughs; for it was many times freezing cold weather.

3. This day, before we came to harbour, obſerving ſome not well affected to unity and concord, but gave ſome appearance of faction, it was thought good there ſhould be an aſſociation and agreement, that we ſhould combine together in one body, and to ſubmit to ſuch government and governours, as we ſhould by common conſent agree to make and chooſe, and ſet our hands to this that follows word for word.

4. In the name of God, Amen. We, whoſe names are underwritten, the loyal ſubjects of our dread ſovereign lord, king James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, &c. having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the chriſtian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the firſt colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by theſe preſents, ſolemnly and mutually, in the preſence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourſelves together in a civil body politick, for our better ordering and preſervation, and furtherance of the ends aforeſaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, conſtitute, and frame, ſuch juſt and equal laws, ordinances, acts, conſtitutions, offices, from time to time, as ſhall be thought moſt meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promiſe all due ſubmiſſion and obedience. In witneſs whereof, we have hereunder ſubſcribed our names, Cape Cod, eleventh of November, in the year of the reign of our ſovereign lord, king James

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(4) See Deſcription of Provincetown, p. 198.

of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini 1620.

5. The ſame day, ſo ſoon as we could, we ſet aſhore fifteen or ſixteen men, well armed, with ſome to fetch wood, for we had none left; as alſo to ſee what the land was, and what inhabitants they could meet with. They found it to be a ſmall neck of land (5): on this ſide where we lay is the bay (6): and the furtheſt ſide the ſea (7): the ground or earth, ſand hills, much like the downs in Holland, but much better: the cruſt of the the earth, a ſpit's (8) depth, excellent black earth: all wooded (9) with oaks, pines, ſaſſafras, juniper, birch, holly, vines, ſome aſh, walnut: the wood for the moſt part open and without under-wood, fit either to go or ride in. At night our people returned, but found not any perſon, nor habitation; and laded their boat with juniper, which ſmelled very ſweet and ſtrong, and of which we burnt the moſt part of the time we lay there.

6. Monday, the thirteenth of November, we unſhipped our ſhallop, and drew her on land, to mend and repair her, having been forced to cut her down in beſtowing her betwixt the decks; and ſhe was much opened with the people's lying in her; which kept us long there, for it was ſixteen or ſeventeen days before the carpenter had finiſhed her. Our people went on ſhore to refreſh themſelves, and our women to waſh, as they had great need. But whilſt we lay thus ſtill, hoping our ſhallop would be ready in five or ſix days at the furtheſt (but our carpenter made ſlow work of it, ſo that) ſome of our people, impa-

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(5) The men appear to have been landed on Long point, which tradition ſays has been diminiſhed in its length, breadth, and height.

(6) By the bay is intended the harbour. See par. 1. and par. 23. where Plymouth harbour is called a bay; and par. 58, where the ſame name is given to the harbour of Cummaquid, or Barnſtable.

(7) That is, Barnſtable bay.

(8) The depth of a ſpade.

(9) See Note (2).

tient of delay, deſired for our better furtherance to travel by land into the country; which was not without appearance of danger, not having the ſhallop with them, nor means to carry proviſion but on their backs; to ſee whether it might be fit for us to ſeat in or no; and the rather, becauſe as we ſailed into the harbour, there ſeemed to be a river opening itſelf into the main land. The willingneſs of the perſons was liked, but the thing itſelf, in regard of the danger, was rather permitted than approved: and ſo with cautions, directions, and inſtructions, ſixteen men were ſet out, with every man his muſket, ſword, and corſlet, under the conduct of Captain Miles Standiſh; unto whom was adjoined, for counſel and advice, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

7. Wedneſday, the fifteenth of November, they were ſet aſhore (10); and when they had ordered themſelves in order of a ſingle file, and marched about the ſpace of a mile by the ſea, they eſpied five or ſix people, with a dog, coming towards them, who were ſavages; who, when they ſaw them, ran into the woods, and whiſtled the dog after them, &c. Firſt they ſuppoſed them to be Maſter Jones, the maſter, and ſome of his men; for they were aſhore and knew of their coming: but after they knew them to be Indians, they marched after them into the wood, leſt other of the Indians ſhould lie in ambuſh. But when the Indians ſaw our men following them, they ran away with might and main; and our men turned out of the wood after them, for it was the way they intended to go, but they could not come near them. They followed them that night about ten miles (11) by the trace of their footings, and ſaw how they had come the ſame way they went, and at a turning perceived how they ran up a hill, to ſee whether they followed them. At length, night came upon them, and they were conſtrained to take up their lodging (12). So they ſet forth

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(10) The men were probably ſet aſhore on the eaſt ſide of Mill creek.

(11) The diſtances in this paper are over-rated.

(12) Probably near Stout's creek.

three ſentinels ; and the reſt, ſome kindled a fire, and others fetched woods, and there held our rendezvous that night.

8. In the morning, ſo ſoon as we could ſee the trace, we proceeded on our journey, and had the track until we had compaſſed the head of a long creek(13) ; and there they took into another wood, and we after them, ſuppoſing to find ſome of their dwellings. But we marched thorough boughs and buſhes, and under hills and vallies(14), which tore our very armour in pieces, and yet could meet with none of them, nor their houſes, nor find any freſh water, which we greatly deſired and ſtood in need of ; for we brought neither beer nor water with us, and our victuals was only biſcuit and Holland cheeſe, and a little bottle of aquavitæ, ſo as we were ſore athirſt. About ten o'clock we came into a deep valley(15), full of bruſh, wood-gaile, and long graſs, through which we found little paths or tracks ; and there we ſaw a deer, and found ſprings of freſh water(16), of which we were heartily glad, and ſat us down and drunk our firſt New England water, with as much delight as ever we drunk drink in all our lives.

9. When we had refreſhed ourſelves, we directed our courſe full ſouth(17), that we might come to the ſhore ; which within a ſhort while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ſhip might ſee where we were, as we had direction ; and ſo marched on towards this ſuppoſed river. And as we went in another valley, we found a fine

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(13) Eaſt-harbour creek.

(14) Excepting the trees and buſhes, which have diſappeared, this is an exact deſcription of that part of Truro called Eaſt harbour.

(15) In this valley is the ſmall village of Eaſt harbour. It is going to decay, and probably will not long exiſt.

(16) In the midſt of the valley abovementioned is a ſwamp, called Dyer's ſwamp. Around it was formerly a number of ſprings of freſh water ; and a few ſtill remain, though probably before another century is cloſed, they will be choked with ſand, as many of them already have been.

(17) The courſe from Dyer's ſwamp to the Pond is ſouth.

a fine clear pond of freſh water(18), being about a muſket-ſhot broad, and twice as long. There grew alſo many ſmall vines; and fowl and deer(19) haunted there. There grew much ſaſſafras. From thence we went on, and found much plain ground (20), about fifty acres fit for the plough, and ſome ſigns where the Indians had formerly planted their corn. After this ſome thought it beſt, for nearneſs of the river, to go down and travel on the ſea ſands, by which means ſome of our men were tired and lagged behind. So we ſtayed and gathered them up, and ſtruck into the land again (21); where we found a little path to certain heaps of ſand, one whereof was covered with old mats, and had a wooden thing like a mortar, whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot laid in a little hole at the end thereof. We muſing what it might be, digged and found a bow, and, as we thought, arrows, but they were rotten. We ſuppoſed there were many other things; but becauſe we deemed them graves, we put in the bow again, and made it up as it was, and left the reſt untouched, becauſe we thought it would be odious unto them to ranſack their ſepulchres. We went on further and found new ſtubble, of which they had gotten corn this year, and many walnut trees full of nuts, and great ſtore of ſtrawberries, and ſome vines. Paſſing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another (22), which had alſo been new gotten; and there we found where an houſe had been, and four or five old planks laid together. Alſo we found a great kettle, which had been ſome ſhip's kettle, and brought out of Europe. There was alſo an heap of ſand, made like the former, but it was newly done: we might ſee how they paddled it with their hands; which we digged up, and in it we found a little old baſket full of fair Indian corn; and digged further, and found a fine great new baſket, full of very fair corn, of this year, with ſome ſix and thirty goodly ears of corn, ſome yellow, and ſome red, and others mixt with blue, which was a very goodly ſight. The baſket was round and narrow at the top. It held about three or four buſhels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handſomely and cunningly made. But whilſt we were buſy about theſe things, we ſet our men ſentinel in a round ring, all but two or three which digged up the corn. We were in ſuſpence what to do with it and the kettle; and at length, after much conſultation, we concluded to take the kettle, and as much of the corn as we could carry away with us; and when our ſhallop came, if we could find any of the people, and came to parley with them, we would give them the kettle again, and ſatisfy them for their corn.

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(18) This pond gives name to the principal village of Truro. It begins near the weſtern ſhore, and extends eaſt; (See Coll. Hiſt. Soc. Vol. III. p. 195.) and is not laid down in any map, which the editor has ſeen, except that of Norman's, and not very accurately there, as the breadth is too great in proportion to its length. In the map of the State lately publiſhed, it is erroneouſly made to communicate with the bay. Eaſt of it, on the Clay pounds, ſtands the light houſe, which is placed too far ſouth in all the maps, except that of Capt. J. F. Williams. In a map of Maſſachuſetts, publiſhed in Hamburgh, the word Pond is written on the ſouth, inſtead of the north, ſide of the meeting houſe. The greateſt part of this pond is now filled with graſs and flags in ſummer, though it is ſtill a pond in winter, as in 1620 it probably was at every ſeaſon of the year. For proofs that ponds are ſometimes filled up, and are even converted into ſwamps, ſee Coll. Hiſt. Soc. Vol. III. p. 172.

(19) Deer have been ſeen near this pond by perſons now living.

(20) The land on the ſouth ſide of the Pond is an elevated plain.

(21) Probably at the Great Hollow. See Coll. Hiſt. Soc. Vol. III. p. 196.

10. So we took all the ears, and put a good deal of the looſe corn in the kettle, for two men to bring away on a ſtaff. Beſides, they that could put away into their pockets, filled the ſame. The reſt we buried again; for we were ſo laden with armour, that we could carry no more.

11. Not far from this place we found the remainder of

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(22) From the Great Hollow the ſixteen adventurers travelled ſouth to the hill, which terminates in Hopkins' cliff. This they named Cornhill. See par. 15. The Indians formerly dwelt in great numbers on this hill; and the ſhells, depoſited by them on it, are ſtill ploughed up in abundance. It ſhould be noted, that Hopkins' cliff is on the north ſide of Pamet river, and that north of the Cliff is the Great Hollow. In the German map the Great Hollow is erroneouſly placed on the ſouth ſide of the river. The name, which ought to have been written there, is Hog's Back.

an old fort or paliſado, which, as we conceived, had been made by ſome chriſtians. This was alſo hard by that place, which we thought had been a river; unto which we went and found it ſo to be, dividing itſelf into two arms by an high bank,(23) ſtanding right by the cut or mouth, which came from the ſea. That which was next unto us was the leſs.(24) The other arm (25) was more than twice as big, and not unlike to be an harbour for ſhips; but whether it be a freſh river, or only an indraught of the ſea, we had no time to diſcover, for we had commandment to be out but two days. Here alſo we ſaw two canoes; the one on the one ſide, the other on the other ſide. We could not believe it was a canoe, till we came near it. So we returned, leaving the further diſcovery hereof to our ſhallop: and came that night back again to the freſh water pond; and there we made our rendezvous that night, making a great fire, and a barricado to windward of us, and kept good watch with three ſentinels all night, every one ſtanding when his turn came, while five or ſix inches of match was burning. It proved a very rainy night.

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(23) This is an accurate deſcription of the entrance of Pamet river. The high bank is now called Old Tom's hill; and it is the termination of a neck of land ſituated between the two creeks. When Truro was firſt planted by the Engliſh, this neck, with ſeveral other tracts of land, was reſerved to the Indians; from which circumſtance it retains the name of Indian neck. Prince, in whoſe Annals very few errours can be detected, has fallen into a great miſtake, in ſuppoſing that Barnſtable harbour is the place which was viſited. (See Ann. p. 74.) But the deſcription does not ſuit the harbour of Barnſtable, or any creek or inlet in the bay, except Pamet harbour; and as Dr. Belknap rightly obſerves (Biog. Vol. II. p. 176.) neither the time nor diſtance can agree with Prince's conjecture. Barnſtable is fifty miles from Cape Cod harbour by land; a diſtance which could not have been travelled, and back again, in three ſhort days of November.

(24) The ſmalleſt creek, which was next to the travellers, is called Hopkins' creek. There is on it a body of ſalt marſh, which runs half way acroſs the townſhip of Truro. The depth of water in this creek, when the tide is in, is five feet.

(25) Pamet river; which extends almoſt acroſs the townſhip, being ſeparated from the ocean by nothing but a narrow beach. It runs through a body of ſalt marſh, which is accurately laid down in Des Barres' chart, though the whole of the creek itſelf is not marked. In other maps the marſh is converted into water.

12. In the morning, we took our kettle and ſunk it in the pond, and trimmed our muſkets, for few of them would go off, becauſe of the wet; and ſo coaſted the wood (26) again to come home; in which we were ſhrewdly puzzled, and loſt our way. As we wandered, we came to a tree, where a young ſprit was bowed down over a bow, and ſome acorns ſtrewed underneath. Stephen Hopkins ſaid, it had been to catch ſome deer. So, as we were looking at it, William Bradford being in the rear, when he came looking alſo upon it, and as he went about, it gave a ſudden jerk up, and he was immediately caught by the leg. It was a very pretty device, made with a rope of their own making, and having a nooſe as artificially made as any roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be; which we brought away with us. In the end we got out of the wood, and were fallen about a mile(27) too high above the creek; where we ſaw three bucks, but we had rather have had one of them. We alſo did ſpring three couple of partridges; and as we came along by the creek, we ſaw great flocks of wild geeſe and ducks, but they were very fearful of us. So we marched ſome while in the woods, ſome while on the ſands, and other while in the water up to the knees (28); till at length we came near the ſhip; and then we ſhot off our pieces, and the long boat came to fetch us. Maſter Jones and Maſter Carver being on the ſhore, with many of our people, came to meet us.—And thus we came both weary and welcome home; and delivered in our corn into the ſtore, to be kept for ſeed, for we knew not how to come by any, and therefore was very glad, purpoſing ſo ſoon as we could meet

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(26) The wood was terminated by the Pond, by the ſide of which they travelled, and then through a valley, which is continued from it, eaſt, toward the ocean.

(27) This brought them about a mile, ſouth-eaſt, of the head of Eaſt harbour creek.

(28) They appear to have waded through Stout's creek, and alſo through Mill creek, and to have paſſed on to the end of Long point, from which the ſhip lay at the diſtance of leſs than a furlong. See par. 19.

with any of the inhabitants of that place, to make them large ſatisfaction.

13. When our ſhallop was fit indeed, before ſhe was fully fitted, for there was two days work after beſtowed on her, there was appointed ſome four and twenty men of our own, and armed, then to go and make a more full diſcovery of the rivers before mentioned. Maſter Jones was deſirous to go with us, and took ſuch of his ſailors as he thought uſeful for us; ſo as we were in all about four and thirty men. We made Maſter Jones our leader; for we thought it beſt herein to gratify his kindneſs and forwardneſs. When we were ſet forth, it proved rough weather and croſs winds; ſo as we were conſtrained, ſome in the ſhallop, and others in the long boat, to row to the neareſt ſhore the wind would ſuffer them to go unto, and then to wade out above the knees. The wind was ſo ſtrong as the ſhallop could not keep the water, but was forced to harbour (29) there that night; but we marched ſix or ſeven miles further, and appointed the ſhallop to come to us as ſoon as they could.

14. It blowed and did ſnow all that day and night, and froze withal. Some of our people that are dead, took the original of their death here. The next day, about eleven o'clock, our ſhallop came to us, and we ſhipped ourſelves; and the wind being good, we ſailed to the river we formerly diſcovered, which we named Cold Harbour (30); to which, when we came, we found it not navigable for ſhips; yet we thought it might be a good harbour for boats, for it flows there twelve foot (31) at high water. We landed our men between the two creeks (32), and marched four or five

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(29) In Eaſt harbour. The men who marched, *ſeveral* miles, and what they ſuppoſed to be *ſix* or *ſeven* miles farther, were landed on the point which forms this harbour.

(30) At the requeſt of the editor, ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of Truro have agreed to revive the old name of Cold harbour.

(31) The mouth of Pamet river, or Cold harbour, is twelve feet deep at high water. Thence the water gradually decreaſes to five feet, which is the depth at the lower bridge. This is to be underſtood of the loweſt tides, during the ſummer.

(32) The men were landed at Old Tom's hill.

miles(33) by the greater of them, and the ſhallop followed us. At length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching up and down the ſteep hills and deep vallies (34), which lay half a foot thick with ſnow. Maſter Jones, wearied with marching, was deſirous that we ſhould take up our lodging, though ſome of us would have marched further. So we made there our rendezvous for that night under a few pine trees; and as it fell out, we got three geeſe and ſix ducks for our ſupper, which we ate with ſoldier's ſtomachs, for we had eaten little all that day.

15. We marched to the place where we had the corn formerly, which place we called Corn-hill (35); and digged and found the reſt, of which we were very glad. We alſo digged in a place a little further off, and found a bottle of oil. We went to another place, which we had ſeen before, and digged and found more corn, viz. two or three baſkets full of Indian wheat, and a bag of beans, with a good many of fair wheat (36) ears. Whilſt ſome of us were digging up this, ſome others found another heap of corn, which they digged up alſo; ſo as we had in all about ten buſhels, which will ſerve us ſufficiently for ſeed. And ſure it was God's good providence that we found this corn, for elſe we knew not how we ſhould have done; for we knew not how we ſhould find or meet with any of the Indians, except it be to do us a miſchief. Alſo we had never in all likelihood ſeen a grain of it, if we had not made our firſt journey; for the ground was now covered with ſnow, and ſo hard frozen, that we were fain with our cutlaſſes and ſhort ſwords to hew and carve the ground a foot deep, and then wreſt it up with levers, for we had forgot to bring our tools. Whilſt we were in this employment, foul weather being

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(33) From Old Tom's hill to the head of Pamet river the diſtance is about three miles and a half, as the hills run, or three miles in a ſtraight line. The tradition is, that Pamet river was formerly deeper than it is at preſent, and therefore the ſhallop might eaſily follow them.

(34) This is an exact deſcription of the land on Pamet river.

(35) The inhabitants of Truro have alſo conſented to revive the old name of Cornhill.

(36) Indian corn is ſtill meant.

towards, Mr. Jones was earneſt to go aboard; but ſundry of us deſired to make further diſcovery, and find out the Indians' habitations. So we ſent home with him our weakeſt people, and ſome that were ſick, and all the corn; and eighteen of us ſtayed ſtill and lodged there that night, and deſired that the ſhallop might return to us next day, and bring us ſome mattocks and ſpades with them.

16. When we had marched five or ſix miles in the woods, and could find no ſigns of any people, we returned again another way; and as we came into the plain ground, we found a place like a grave, but it was much bigger and longer than any we had yet ſeen. It was alſo covered with boards; ſo as we muſed what it ſhould be, and reſolved to dig it up: where we found firſt a mat, and under that a fair bow, and there another mat, and under that a board about three quarters long, finely carved and painted, with three tines or broches on the top, like a crown. Alſo between the mats we found bowls, trays, diſhes, and ſuch like trinkets. At length we came to a fair new mat, and under that two bundles, the one bigger, the other leſs. We opened the greater, and found in it a great quantity of fine and perfect red powder, and in it the bones and ſkull of a man. The ſkull had fine yellow hair ſtill on it, and ſome of the fleſh unconſumed. There was bound up with a knife, a packneedle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound up in a ſailor's canvas caſſock and a pair of cloth breeches. The red powder was a kind of embalment, and yielded a ſtrong, but no offenſive ſmell. It was as fine as any flour. We opened the leſs bundle likewiſe, and found of the ſame powder in it, and the bones and head of a little child. About the legs and other parts of it was bound ſtrings and bracelets of fine white beads (37). There was alſo by it a little bow, about three quarters long, and ſome other odd knacks. We brought ſundry of the prettieſt things away with us, and covered the corpſe up again. After this, we digged in ſundry like places, but found no more corn, nor any thing elſe but graves.

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(37) Wampom, made of the periwinkle.

17. Whilſt we were thus ranging and ſearching, two of the ſailors, which were newly come on the ſhore, by chance eſpied two houſes, which had been lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They, having their pieces, and hearing nobody, entered the houſes and took out ſomething, and durſt not ſtay, but came again and told us: ſo ſome ſeven or eight of us went with them, and found how we had gone within a flight ſhot of them before. The houſes were made with long young ſapling trees bended, and both ends ſtuck into the ground. They were made round like unto an arbour, and covered down to the ground with thick and well wrought mats; and the door was not over a yard high, made of a mat to open(38). The chimney was a wide open hole in the top; for which they had a mat to cover it cloſe when they pleaſed. One might ſtand and go upright in them. In the midſt of them were four little trunches knocked into the ground, and ſmall ſticks laid over, on which they hung their pots, and what they had to ſeeth. Round about the fire they lay on mats, which are their beds. The houſes were double matted; for as they were matted without, ſo were they within with newer and fairer mats. In the houſes we found wooden bowls, trays, and diſhes, earthen pots, hand-baſkets made of crab-ſhells wrought together; alſo an Engliſh pail or bucket; it wanted a bail, but it had two iron ears. There was alſo baſkets of ſundry ſorts, bigger, and ſome leſſer, finer, and ſome coarſer. Some were curiouſly wrought with black and white in pretty works, and ſundry other of their houſehold ſtuff. We found alſo two or three deer's heads, one whereof had been newly killed, for it was ſtill freſh. There was alſo a company of deer's feet, ſtuck up in the houſes, harts' horns, and eagles' claws, and ſundry ſuch like things there was; alſo two or three baſkets full of parched acorns, pieces of fiſh, and a piece of a broiled herring. We found alſo a little ſilk graſs, and a little tobacco ſeed, with ſome other ſeeds which we knew not. Without was ſundry bundles of flags, and ſedge, bull-ruſhes, and other ſtuff to make mats. There was thruſt into a hollow tree two or three pieces of veniſon;

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(38) See Gookin's Coll. chap. III. § 4. and Williams' Key. chap. VI.

but we thought it fitter for the dogs than for us. Some of the beſt things we took away with us, and left the houſes ſtanding ſtill as they were.

18. Much diſputation fell out about the place where we ſhould abide; and a company was choſen to go out upon a third diſcovery. Whilſt ſome were employed in this diſcovery, it pleaſed God that Miſtreſs White was brought to bed of a ſon, which was called Peregrine.

19. Wedneſday, the ſixth of December, we ſet out, being very cold and hard weather. We were a long while, after we launched from the ſhip, before we could get clear of a ſandy point, which lay within leſs than a furlong of the ſame(39). In which time two were very ſick, and Edward Tilley had like to have ſwooned with cold. The gunner was alſo ſick unto death (but hope of trucking made him go) and ſo remained all that day and the next night. At length we got clear of the ſandy point, and got up our ſails, and within an hour or two we got under the weather ſhore, and then had ſmoother water and better ſailing; but it was very cold, for the water froze on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of iron.

20. We ſailed ſix or ſeven leagues by the ſhore, but ſaw neither river nor creek. At length we met with a tongue of land, being flat off from the ſhore, with a ſandy point (40). We bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income or road of a bay, being a league over at the narroweſt, and ſome two or three in length; but we made right over to the land before us, and left the diſcovery of this income till the next day. As we drew near to the ſhore, we eſpied ſome ten or twelve Indians very buſy about a black thing (41), what it was we could not tell, till afterwards they ſaw us, and ran to and fro, as if they had been carrying ſomething away. We landed a league or two from them, and had much ado to put aſhore,

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(39) The end of Long point.

(40) Billingſgate point. This point then joined the land north of it; but it is now an iſland. See Coll. Hiſt. Soc. Vol. IV. p. 41.

(41) A grampus. Prince's Ann. p. 76.

aſhore any where, it lay ſo full of flat ſands(42). When we came to ſhore, we made us a barricado, and got fire wood, and ſet out ſentinels, and betook us to our lodging, ſuch as it was. We ſaw the ſmoke of the fire, which the ſavages made that night, about four or five miles from us.

21. In the morning we divided our company, ſome eight in the ſhallop, and the reſt on the ſhore went to diſcover this place; but we found it only to be a bay, without either river or creek coming into it. This place the moſt were minded we ſhould call Grampus bay, becauſe we found many of them there*. We followed the track of the Indians' bare feet a good way on the ſands. At length we ſaw here they ſtruck into the woods by the ſide of a pond(43). As we went to view the place, one ſaid he thought he ſaw an Indian houſe among the trees. So we went up to ſee. And here we and the ſhallop loſt ſight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten o'clock. So we lighted on a path, but ſaw no houſe, and followed a great way into the woods. At length we found where corn had been ſet, but not that year. Anon we found a great burying place, one part whereof was encompaſſed with a large paliſado, like a church yard, with young ſpires four or five yards long, ſet as cloſe one by another as they could, two or three foot in the ground. Within it was full of graves, ſome bigger, and ſome leſs. Some were alſo paled about; and others had like an Indian houſe made over them, but not matted. Thoſe graves were more ſumptuous than thoſe at Cornhill; yet we digged none of them up, only viewed them and went our way. Without the paliſado were graves alſo, but not ſo coſtly. We went ranging up and down till the ſun began to draw low; and then we haſted out of the woods, that we might come to our ſhallop. By that time we had done, and

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(42) See Deſcription of Eaſtham. p. 155.

* They found grampuſes dead, two inches thick of fat, and five or ſix paces long. *Note by the author.*

(43) Great pond in Eaſtham, north of which they landed. This pond is well delineated in the late maps of the ſtate.

our ſhallop come to us (44) it was within night; and we fed upon ſuch victuals as we had, and betook us to our reſt, after we had ſet our watch.

22. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry; and our ſentinel called, Arm, arm. So we beſtirred ourſelves, and ſhot off a couple of muſkets, and noiſe ceaſed. We concluded that it was a company of wolves and foxes, for one told us he had heard ſuch a noiſe in Newfoundland. About five o'clock in the morning we began to be ſtirring. Upon a ſudden we heard a great and ſtrange cry, which we knew to be the ſame voices, though they varied their notes. One of the company, being abroad, came running in, and cried, They are men, Indians, Indians: and withal their arrows came flying amongſt us. Our men ran out with all ſpeed to recover their arms. The cry of our enemies was dreadful, eſpecially when our men ran out to recover their arms. Their note was after this manner, *Woach woach ha ha hach woach.* Our men were no ſooner come to their arms, but the enemy was ready to aſſault them. There was a luſty man, and no whit leſs valiant, who was thought to be their captain, ſtood behind a tree within half a muſket ſhot of us, and there let his arrows fly at us. He ſtood three ſhots of a muſket. At length one took, as he ſaid, full aim at him: after which he gave an extraordinary cry; and away they went all. We followed them about a quarter of a mile; but we left ſix to keep our ſhallop, for we were careful of our buſineſs. We took up eighteen of their arrows, which we had ſent to England by Maſter Jones; ſome whereof were headed

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(44) It appears from Gov. Bradford's MS. Hiſt. quoted by Prince, Ann. p. 77. that the ſhallop coaſted along the ſhore, ſouth, and that toward night the people on the land met it at a creek. This Morton conjectures to be Namſkeket. Mem. p. 25. But it may with more probability be concluded that it was Great Meadow creek. If the travellers had gone as far as Namſkeket, they muſt either have croſſed Great Meadow, Boat Meadow, Rock harbour, and Little Namſkeket creeks, or they muſt have paſſed round their heads, which, at a time when the country was covered with a foreſt very difficult to be penetrated, would have been no eaſy taſk. Namſkeket creek was beſt known to the firſt inhabitants of Plymouth; and this appears to have been the cauſe of Morton's ſuppoſition.

with braſs, others with harts' horn, and others with eagles' claws. Many more no doubt were ſhot; for theſe we found were almoſt covered with leaves; yet, by the ſpecial providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt us. (45)

23. On Monday we found a very good harbour for our ſhipping. We marched alſo into the land, and found divers corn fields and little running brooks; a place very good for ſituation: ſo we returned to our ſhip again with good news, which did much comfort their hearts. This harbour is a bay greater than Cape Cod, compaſſed with goodly land, and in the bay two fine iſlands(46) uninhabited, wherein are nothing but woods, oaks, pines, walnut, beech, ſaſſafras, vines, and other trees which we know not. This bay is a moſt hopeful place(47): innumerable ſtore of fowl, and excellent good; and cannot but be fiſh in their ſeaſons: Skate, cod, turbot(48), and herring, we have taſted of; abundance of muſcles, the greateſt and beſt we ever ſaw; crabs and lobſters in their time infinite. It is in faſhion like a ſickle or fiſh-hook.

24. The eighteenth, we went along the coaſt in the woods, ſome ſeven or eight mile (49), but ſaw not an Indian,

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(45) For a narrative of the events, which took place between this ſkirmiſh and the landing at Plymouth, ſee Morton's Mem. p. 27, 28. and Prince's Ann. p. 77, 78.

(46) There is not at preſent but one iſland in the harbour of Plymouth. But there is a ſhoal called Brown's iſland, lying about a half of a mile eaſt by north from Beach point. This, it is ſuppoſed, was once upland. There is a tradition, that ſtumps of trees have been ſeen here. The following extract from Winthrop's Journal, p. 87. will perhaps confirm this ſuppoſition. "A. D. 1635. Sep. 6. Two ſhallops going laden with goods to Connecticut, were taken in the night with an eaſterly ſtorm, and caſt away upon Brown's Iſlands, near the Gurnet's Noſe, and the men all drowned."

(47) The experience of a few years convinced the inhabitants of Plymouth that the place was not ſo hopeful, as they had at firſt ſuppoſed.

(48) By turbot may be intended the flounder, or the halibut.

(49) Which ever way the travellers went, they could not have walked ſeven miles; becauſe north-weſt, at the diſtance of four miles, they would have come to Jones' river in Kingſton; and ſouth-eaſt, at the diſtance of three miles to Eel river. Theſe rivers, though not large, cannot be denominated brooks. The latter then ran into the harbour of Plymouth; but at preſent its mouth is on the outſide of Beach point.

dian, nor an Indian houſe; only we found where formerly had been ſome inhabitants, and where they had planted their corn. We found not any navigable river, but four or five running brooks of very freſh water, that all run into the ſea. The land for the cruſt of the earth is a ſpit's depth, excellent black mould, and fat in ſome places: two or three great oaks, but not very thick, pines, walnuts, beech, aſh, birch, hazel, holly, aſp(50), ſaſſafras in abundance, and vines every where, cherry trees, plum trees, and many others which we know not. Many kinds of herbs we found here in winter, as ſtrawberry leaves innumerable, ſorrel, yarrow, carvel, brooklime, liverwort, water-creſſes, great ſtore of leeks and onions, and an excellent ſtrong kind of flax and hemp. Here is ſand, gravel, and excellent clay, no better in the world, excellent for pots, and will waſh like ſoap, and great ſtore of ſtone, though ſomewhat ſoft, and the beſt water(51) that ever we drunk; and the brooks now begin to be full of fiſh(52). That night, many being weary with marching, we went aboard again.

25. The nineteenth of December, after our landing and viewing of the places ſo well as we could, we came to a concluſion, by moſt voices, to ſet on the main land, on the firſt place, on a high ground, where there is a great deal of land cleared, and hath been planted with corn three or four years ago; and there is a very ſweet brook (53) runs under the hill ſide, and many delicate ſprings of as good water as can be drunk, and where we may harbour our ſhallops and boats exceeding well; and in this brook is much good fiſh in their ſeaſons; on the further ſide of the river alſo much corn ground cleared(54). In one field is a great hill(55), on which we point to make a

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(50) Aſpen.

(51) Plymouth is abundantly ſupplied with ſprings and brooks of excellent water.

(52) Eels and ſmelts enter the brooks of Plymouth in autumn; and froſt fiſh, or tom-cods, in December.

(53) Now called Town brook. It iſſues from a pond, named Billington ſea.

(54) At preſent denominated the Training green.

(55) On which the burying ground now is.

platform, and plant our ordnance; which will command all round about. From thence we may ſee into the bay, and far into the ſea; and we may ſee from thence Cape Cod.

26. Saturday, the three and twentieth, ſo many of us as could went on ſhore, felled and carried timber, to provide themſelves ſtuff for building. Monday, the five and twentieth, we went on ſhore, ſome to fell timber, ſome to ſaw, ſome to rive, and ſome to carry: ſo no man reſted all that day.

27. Monday, the five and twentieth, being Chriſtmas day, we began to drink water aboard; but at night the maſter cauſed us to have ſome beer; and ſo on board we had divers times now and then ſome beer, but on ſhore none at all. We took notice how many families they were, willing all ſingle men, that had no wives, to join with ſome family, as they thought fit, that ſo we might build fewer houſes; which was done, and we reduced them to nineteen families. To greater families we allotted larger plots; to every perſon half a pole in breadth, and three in length; and ſo lots were caſt where every man ſhould lie; which was done, and ſtaked out. We thought this proportion was large enough at the firſt, for houſes and gardens to impale them round, conſidering the weakneſs of our people, many of them growing ill with colds; for our former diſcoveries in froſt and ſtorms, and the wading at Cape Cod, had brought much weakneſs amongſt us, which increaſed every day more and more, and after was the cauſe of many of our deaths.

28. Friday and Saturday we fitted ourſelves for our labour; but our people on ſhore were much troubled and diſcouraged with rain and wet that day, being very ſtormy and cold. We ſaw great ſmokes of fire made by the Indians, about ſix or ſeven miles from us, as we conjectured.

29. Thurſday, the fourth of January, Captain Miles Standiſh, with four or five more, went to ſee if they could meet with any of the ſavages in that place where the fires were made. They went to ſome of their houſes, but not lately inhabited; yet could they not meet with any. As they came home, they ſhot at an eagle and killed her,

which was excellent meat ; it was hardly to be diſcerned from mutton.

30. Tueſday, the ninth of January, was a reaſonable fair day ; and we went to labour that day in building of our town, in two rows of houſes (56) for more ſafety. We divided by lot the plot of ground whereon to build our town, after the proportion formerly allotted. We agreed that every man ſhould build his own houſe, thinking by that courſe men would make more haſte than working in common. The common houſe (57), in which for the firſt we made our rendezvous, being near finiſhed, wanted only covering, it being about twenty foot ſquare. Some ſhould make mortar, and ſome gather thatch ; ſo that in four days half of it was thatched. Froſt and foul weather hindred us much. This time of the year ſeldom could we work half the week.

34. On the twelfth day, John Goodman and Peter Brown at dinner time took their meat in their hands, and would go walk and refreſh themſelves. So going a little off, they find a lake of water (58), and having a great maſtiff bitch with them and a ſpaniel. By the water ſide they found a great deer. The dogs chaſed him ; and they followed ſo far as they loſt themſelves, and could not find the way back. They wandered all that afternoon, being wet ; and at night it did freeze and ſnow. They were ſlenderly apparelled, and had no weapons, but each one his ſickle, nor any victuals. They ranged up and down, and could find none of the ſavages' habitations. When it drew to night, they were much perplexed ; for they could find neither harbour nor meat ; but, in froſt and ſnow, were forced to make the earth their bed, and the element their covering. And another thing did much

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(56) The ſame ſtreet, which leads from the meeting houſe to the water. This ſtreet is without a name. It has been propoſed by ſeveral reſpectable gentlemen of Plymouth to call it Leyden ſtreet.

(57) Laſt year, in digging a cellar, ſundry tools and a plate of iron were diſcovered, ſeven feet below the ſurface of the ground, on the place, where it is ſuppoſed that this common houſe ſtood.

(58) Probably Murdock's pond, about a quarter of a mile north-weſt from the court houſe.

terrify them : they heard, as they thought, two lions (59) roaring exceedingly for a long time, and a third, that they thought was very near them. So not knowing what to do, they reſolved to climb up into a tree as the ſafeſt refuge, though that would prove an intolerable cold lodging. They ſtood at the tree's root, that when the lions came, they might take their opportunity of climbing up. The bitch they were fain to hold by the neck, for ſhe would have been gone to the lion. But it pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe, that the wild beaſts came not. So they walked up and down under the tree all night. It was an extreme cold night. So ſoon as it was light they travelled again, paſſing by many lakes(60), and brooks, and woods, and in one place where the ſavages had burnt the ſpace of five miles in length, which is a fine champaign country, and even(61). In the afternoon it pleaſed God, from an high hill, they diſcovered the two iſles in the bay ; and ſo that night got to the plantation, being ready to faint with travel and want of victuals, and almoſt famiſhed with cold. John Goodman was fain to have his ſhoes cut off his feet, they were ſo ſwelled with cold ; and it was a long while after ere he was able to go.

32. The houſe was fired occaſionally by a ſpark that flew into the thatch, which inſtantly burnt it all up ; but the roof ſtood and little hurt. The moſt loſs was Maſter Carver's and William Bradford's, who then lay ſick in bed, and if they had not riſen with good ſpeed, had been blown up with powder ; but, through God's mercy, they had no harm. The houſe was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their muſkets charged ; but, bleſſed be God, there was no harm done.

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(59) Several of the firſt ſettlers of New England ſuppoſed, that the lion exiſted here. (See Coll. Hiſt. Soc. Vol. I. p. 119. and Wood's N. England Proſpect. chap. VI.) But few readers need now to be informed that this animal is not to be found in America. Goodman and Brown, coming from England, where both the lion and the wolf are unknown, might eaſily, under the impreſſion of fear, miſtake the howling of the one for the roaring of the other. See par. 34.

(60) There is a great number of ponds in the townſhip of Plymouth.

(61) A plain commences two miles from the town, and extends ſix miles ſouth-weſt.

33. Monday, the fifteenth day, it rained much all day, that they on ſhip-board could not go on ſhore, nor they on ſhore do any labour, but were all wet. Tueſday, Wedneſday, Thurſday, were very fair ſunſhiny days, as if it had been in April; and our people, ſo many as were in health, wrought cheerfully.

34. The nineteenth day we reſolved to make a ſhed to put our common proviſion in, of which ſome were already ſet on ſhore; but at noon it rained, that we could not work. This day, in the evening, John Goodman went abroad to uſe his lame feet, that were pitifully ill with the cold he had got, having a little ſpaniel with him. A little way from the plantation two great wolves ran after the dog: the dog ran to him and betwixt his legs for ſuccour. He had nothing in his hand, but took up a ſtick and threw at one of them and hit him, and they preſently ran both away, but came again. He got a pale board in his hand; and they ſat both on their tails grinning at him a good while; and went their way and left him.

35. Saturday, the ſeventeenth day, in the morning, we called a meeting for the eſtabliſhing of military orders amongſt ourſelves; and we choſe Miles Standiſh for our captain, and gave him authority to command in affairs.

36. Saturday, the third of March, the wind was ſouth, the morning miſty, but towards noon warm and fair weather. The birds ſang in the woods moſt pleaſantly. At one of the clock it thundered, which was the firſt we heard in that country: it was ſtrong and great claps, but ſhort; but after an hour it rained very ſteady till midnight. Wedneſday, the ſeventh of March, the wind was full eaſt, cold, but fair.

37. Friday, the ſixteenth, there preſented himſelf a ſavage, which cauſed an alarum. He very boldly came all alone, and along the houſes, ſtraight to the rendezvous, where we intercepted him, not ſuffering him to go in, as undoubtedly he would out of his boldneſs. He ſaluted us in Engliſh, and bade us welcome; for he had learned ſome broken Engliſh amongſt the Engliſhmen that came to fiſh at Monhiggon, and knew by name the moſt of the captains, commanders, and maſters, that uſually come

He was a man free in ſpeech, ſo far as he could expreſs his mind, and of a ſeemly carriage. We queſtioned him of many things: he was the firſt ſavage we could meet withal. He ſaid he was not of thoſe parts, but of Morattiggon, and one of the *ſagamores* or lords thereof: had been eight months in theſe parts, it lying hence a day's ſail with a great wind, and five days by land. He diſcourſed of the whole country, and of every province, and of their ſagamores, and their number of men, and ſtrength. The wind beginning to riſe a little, we caſt a horſeman's coat about him; for he was ſtark naked, only a leather about his waiſt, with a fringe about a ſpan long, or little more. He had a bow and two arrows, the one headed, and the other unheaded. He was a tall, ſtraight man; the hair of his head black, long behind, only ſhort before; none on his face at all. He aſked ſome beer; but we gave him ſtrong-water and biſcuit, and butter, and cheeſe, and pudding, and a piece of a mallard; all which he liked well, and had been acquainted with ſuch amongſt the Engliſh. He told us the place where we now live is called Patuxet, and that about four years ago all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining, as indeed we have found none; ſo as there is none to hinder our poſſeſſion, or lay claim unto it. All the afternoon we ſpent in communication with him. We would gladly have been rid of him at night, but he was not willing to go this night. Then we thought to carry him on ſhip-board, wherewith he was well content, and went into the ſhallop; but the wind was high and water ſcant, that it could not return back. We lodged [him] that night at Stephen Hopkins' houſe, and watched him.

38. The next day he went away back to the Maſſaſoyts(62), from whence he ſaid he came, who are our next bordering neighbours. They are ſixty ſtrong, as he ſaith. The Nauſites are as near, ſouth-eaſt of them, and are a hundred ſtrong; and thoſe were they of whom our people were

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(62) The Engliſh, not underſtanding Samoſet perfectly, ſuppoſed that by Maſſaſoyt he meant an Indian tribe; but this was the name of the great ſagamore, as appears afterwards in par. 41.

encountered, as we before related. They are much incenſed and provoked againſt the Engliſh; and about eight months ago ſlew three Engliſhmen, and two more hardly eſcaped by flight to Monhiggon. They were Sir Ferdinando Gorges his men, as this ſavage told us; as he did likewiſe of the *huggery*, that is, fight, that our diſcoverers had with the Nauſites; and of our tools that were taken out of the woods, which we willed him ſhould be brought again, otherwiſe we would right ourſelves. Theſe people are ill affected toward the Engliſh by reaſon of one Hunt, a maſter of a ſhip, who deceived the people, and got them under colour of trucking with them, twenty out of this very place where we inhabit, and ſeven men from the Nauſites, and carried them away, and ſold them for ſlaves, like a wretch-man (for twenty pound a man) that care not what miſchief he doth for his profit.

39. Saturday, in the morning, we diſmiſſed the ſavage, and gave him a knife, a bracelet and a ring. He promiſed within a night or two to come again, and to bring with him ſome of the Maſſaſoyts, our neighbours, with ſuch beavers' ſkins as they had to truck with us.

40. Saturday and ſunday, reaſonable fair days. On this day came again the ſavage, and brought with him five other tall, proper men. They had every man a deer's ſkin on him; and the principal of them had a wild cat's ſkin, or ſuch like, on the one arm. They had moſt of them long hoſen up to their groins, cloſe made; and above their groins, to their waiſt, another leather: they were altogether like the Iriſh trouſers. They are of complexion like our Engliſh Gipſies; no hair, or very little on their faces; on their heads long hair to their ſhoulders, only cut before; ſome truſſed up before with a feather, broad wiſe, like a fan; another a fox tail, hanging out. Theſe left, according to our charge given him before, their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from our town. We gave them entertainment, as we thought was fitting them. They did eat liberally of our Engliſh victuals. They made ſemblance unto us of friendſhip and amity. They ſang and danced after their manner, like anticks. They brought with him in a thing like a bow-caſe, which the principal of them had about his waiſt, a little of their

corn pounded to powder (63), which put to a little water they ate. He had a little tobacco in a bag; but none of them drunk, but when he liſted. Some of them had their faces painted black (64), from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad: others after other faſhions, as they liked. They brought three or four ſkins; but we would not truck with them all that day, but wiſhed them to bring more, and we would truck for all; which they promiſed within a night or two, and would leave theſe behind them, though we were not willing they ſhould; and they brought all our tools again, which were taken in the woods, in our men's abſence (65). So becauſe of the day we diſmiſſed them, ſo ſoon as we could. But Samoſet, our firſt acquaintance, either was ſick, or feigned himſelf ſo, and would not go with them, and ſtayed with us till Wedneſday morning. Then we ſent him to them, to know the reaſon they came not according to their words; and we gave him a hat, a pair of ſtockings and ſhoes, a ſhirt, and a piece of cloth to tie about his waiſt.

41. Thurſday, the twenty-ſecondth of March, was a fair warm day. About noon we met again about our publick buſineſs; but we had ſcarce been an hour together, but Samoſet came again, and Squanto (66), the only native of Patuxet, where we now inhabit, who was one of the twenty captives that by Hunt were carried away, and had been in England, and dwelt in Cornhill with Maſter John Stanie, a merchant, and could ſpeak a little Engliſh, with three others: and they brought with them ſome few ſkins to truck, and ſome red herrings, newly taken and dried, but not ſalted; and ſignified unto us, that their great ſagamore, Maſſaſoyt, was hard by, with Quadequina, his brother, and all their men. They

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(63) *Nokehick*, generally pronounced at preſent *nokake*, made of Indian corn, parched, and afterwards reduced to meal, and ſifted through a baſket. See Williams' Key, chap. II. and Gookin's Coll. chap. III. § 5.

(64) See Williams' Key, chap. XXX. and Gookin's Coll. chap. III. § 11.

(65) See Prince's Ann. p. 98.

(66) Or Tiſqauntum. See par. 48.

could not well expreſs in Engliſh what they would; but after an hour the king came to the top of an hill (67) over againſt us, and had in his train ſixty men, that we could well behold them, and they us. We were not willing to ſend our governour to them, and they unwilling to come to us: ſo Squanto went again unto him, who brought word that we ſhould ſend one to parley with him, which we did, which was Edward Winſlow, to know his mind, and to ſignify the mind and will of our governour, which was to have trading and peace with him. We ſent to the king a pair of knives, and a copper chain, with a jewel in it. To Quadequina we ſent likewiſe a knife, and a jewel to hang in his ear, and withal a pot of ſtrong water, a good quantity of biſcuit, and ſome butter, which were all willingly accepted.

42. Our meſſenger made a ſpeech unto him, That king James ſaluted him with words of love and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally; and that our governour deſired to ſee him and to truck with him, and to confirm a peace with him as his next neighbour. He liked well of the ſpeech, and heard it attentively, though the interpreters did not well expreſs it. After he had eaten and drunk himſelf, and given the reſt to his company, he looked upon our meſſenger's ſword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his deſire to buy it; but, on the other ſide, our meſſenger ſhowed his unwillingneſs to part with it. In the end he left him in the cuſtody of Quadequina, his brother, and came over the brook, and ſome twenty men following him, leaving all their bows and arrows behind them. We kept ſix or ſeven as hoſtages for our meſſenger. Captain Standiſh and Mr. Williamſon met the king at the brook, with half a dozen muſketeers. They ſaluted him, and he them: ſo one going over, the one on the one ſide, and the other on the other, conducted him to an houſe then in building, where we placed a green rug and three or four cuſhions. Then inſtantly came our governour, with a drum and trumpet after him, and ſome few muſketeers. After ſalutations, our governour kiſſing his hand, the

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(67) Watſon's hill, on the ſouth ſide of Town brook.

king kiſſed him; and ſo they ſat down. The governour called for ſome ſtrong water, and drunk to him; and he drunk a great draught, that made him ſweat all the while after. He called for a little freſh meat, which the king did eat willingly, and did give his followers. Then they treated of peace, which was;

43. Firſt, that neither he nor any of his ſhould injure or do hurt to any of our people.

Secondly, and if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he ſhould ſend the offender, that we might puniſh him.

Thirdly, that if any of our tools were taken away, when our people were at work, he ſhould cauſe them to be reſtored; and if ours did any harm to any of his, we would do the like to them.

Fourthly, if any did unjuſtly war againſt him, we would aid him: if any did war againſt us, he ſhould aid us.

Fifthly, he ſhould ſend to his neighbour confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewiſe compriſed in the conditions of peace.

Sixthly, that when their men came, they ſhould leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we ſhould do our pieces, when we came to them.

Laſtly, that doing thus, king James would eſteem of him as his friend and ally (68).

44. All which the king ſeemed to like well; and it was applauded of his followers. All the while he ſat by the governour, he trembled for fear. In his perſon he is a very luſty man, in his beſt years, an able body, grave of countenance, and ſpare of ſpeech; in his attire little or nothing differing from the reſt of his followers, only in a great chain of white bone beads about his neck; and at it, behind his neck hangs a little bag of tobacco, which he drank and gave us to drink. His face was painted with a ſad red like murrey; and oiled both head and face,

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(68) "This treaty, the work of one day, being honeſtly intended on both ſides, was kept with fidelity as long as Maſſaſoyt lived, but was afterward [in 1675] broken by Philip, his ſucceſſor." Belknap's Biog. p. 214.

that he looked greaſily. All his followers likewiſe were in their faces, in part or in whole, painted, ſome black, ſome red, ſome yellow, and ſome white; ſome with croſſes and other antick works; ſome had ſkins on them, and ſome naked; all ſtrong, tall men in appearance. The king had in his boſom, hanging in a ſtring, a great long knife. He marvelled much at our trumpet; and ſome of his men would ſound it as well as they could. Samoſet and Squanto ſtayed all night with us; and the king and all his men lay all night in the wood, not above half an Engliſh mile from us, and all their wives and women with them. They ſaid, that within eight or nine days they would come and ſet corn on the other ſide of the brook, and dwell there all ſummer, which is hard by us.

45. That night we kept good watch; but there was no appearance of danger. The next morning divers of their people came over to us, hoping to get ſome victuals, as we imagined. Some of them told us the king would have ſome of us come ſee him. Captain Standiſh and Iſaac Alderton(69) went venterouſly, who were welcomed of him after their manner. He gave them three or four ground nuts and ſome tobacco. We cannot yet conceive, but that he is willing to have peace with us; for they have ſeen our people ſometimes alone two or three in the woods at work and fowling, when as they offered them no harm, as they might eaſily have done; and eſpecially becauſe he hath a potent adverſary, the Narrohiganſets (70), that are at war with him, againſt whom he thinks we may be ſome ſtrength to him, for our pieces are terrible unto them. This morning they ſtayed till ten or eleven of the clock; and our governour bid them ſend the king's kettle, and filled it with peas, which pleaſed them well; and ſo they went their way.

46. Friday was a very fair day. Samoſet and Squanto ſtill remained with us. Squanto went at noon to fiſh for eels. At night he came home with as many as he could lift in one hand; which our people were glad of. They were fat and ſweet. He trod them out with his feet;

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(69) Generally ſpelled Allerton. Point Alderton, at the entrance of Boſton harbour, takes its name from him. Hutch. Vol. II. p. 461.

(70) Written at preſent Narraganſet.

and ſo caught them with his hands, without any other inſtrument.

47. This day we proceeded on with our common buſineſs, from which we had been ſo often hindered by the ſavages' coming; and concluded both of military orders, and of ſome laws and orders as we thought behooveful for our preſent eſtate and condition; and likewiſe choſe our governour for this year, which was Maſter John Carver, a man well approved amongſt us.

A Journey to Pakanokick.

48. IT ſeemed good to the company, for many conſiderations, to ſend ſome amongſt them to Maſſaſoyt, the greateſt commander amongſt the ſavages, bordering about us; partly to know where to find them, if occaſion ſerved; as alſo to ſee their ſtrength, diſcover the country, prevent abuſes in their diſorderly coming unto us, make ſatisfaction for ſome conceived injuries to be done on our parts, and to continue the league of peace and friendſhip between them and us. For theſe and the like ends, it pleaſed the governour to make choice of Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winſlow, to go unto him; and having a fit opportunity by reaſon of a ſavage called Tiſquantum (71), that could ſpeak Engliſh, coming unto us: with all expedition provided a horſeman's coat of red cotton, and laced with a ſlight lace, for a preſent, that both they and their meſſage might be acceptable amongſt them.

49. We ſet forward the tenth(72) of June, about nine o'clock in the morning, our guide reſolving that night to reſt at Namaſchet (73), a town under Maſſaſoyt, and conceived by us to be very near, becauſe the inhabitants flocked ſo thick upon every ſlight occaſion amongſt us;

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(71) Or Squanto: See par. 41.

(72) "June 10th. being Lord's day, it is very unlikely that they ſet out then, and is alſo inconſiſtent with the reſt of the Journal: whereas July 2d. is Monday, when Gov. Bradford ſays, We ſent Mr. Edward Winſlow, &c." Prince Ann. p. 105.

(73) Or Namaſket: that part of Middleborough, which the Engliſh firſt began to ſettle. Coll. Hiſt. Soc. Vol. III. p. 148.

but we found it to be ſome fifteen miles. On the way we found ſome ten or twelve men, women, and children, which had peſtered us till we were weary of them, perceiving that, as the manner of them all is, where victual is eaſilieſt to be got, there they live, eſpecially in the ſummer: by reaſon whereof, our bay affording many lobſters, they reſort every ſpring tide thither; and now returned with us to Nameſchet. Thither we came about three o'clock afternoon, the inhabitants entertaining us with joy, in the beſt manner they could; giving us a kind of bread, called by them *maizium*, and the ſpawn of ſhads, which they then got in abundance, in ſo much as they gave us ſpoons to eat them: With theſe they boiled muſty acorns (74); but of the ſhads we eat heartily. After this they deſired one of our men to ſhoot at a crow, complaining what damage they ſuſtained in their corn by them, who ſhooting ſome fourſcore off and killing, they much admired it, as other ſhots on other occaſions. After this Tiſquantum told us we ſhould hardly in one day reach Pakanokick, moving us to go ſome eight miles further, where we ſhould find more ſtore and better victuals than there.

50. Being willing to haſten our journey, we went and came thither at ſun ſetting; where we found many of the Namaſcheucks (they ſo calling the men of Namaſchet) fiſhing upon a wear(75), which they had made on a river which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of baſs. Theſe welcomed us alſo, gave us of their fiſh, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we ſhould have enough wherever we came. There we lodged in the open fields; for houſes they had none, though they ſpent the moſt of the ſummer there. The head of this river is reported to be not far from the place of our abode. Upon it are and have been many towns, it being a good

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(74) See Gookin's Coll. chap. III. §. 5. and Williams' Key, chap. XVI.

(75) At Titicut, on Taunton river, in the north-weſt part of Middleborough, is a noted place, which was formerly called the Old Indian Wear. Though other wears have been erected on Taunton river, yet this is probably the place intended.

length. The ground is very good on both ſides, it being for the moſt part cleared. Thouſands of men have lived there, which died in a great plague not long ſince: and pity it was and is to ſee ſo many goodly fields, and ſo well ſeated, without men to dreſs and manure the ſame. Upon this river dwelleth Maſſaſoyt.

51. The next morning we brake our faſt, took our leave, and departed, being then accompanied with ſome ſix ſavages. Having gone about ſix miles by the river ſide, at a known ſhoal place (76), it being low water, they ſpake to us to put off our breeches, for we muſt wade thorough. Here let me not forget the valour and courage of ſome of the ſavages, on the oppoſite ſide of the river; for there were remaining alive only two men, both aged, eſpecially the one, being above threeſcore. Theſe two, eſpying a company of men entering the river, ran very ſwiftly, and low in the graſs, to meet us at the bank, where with ſhrill voices and great courage, ſtanding charged upon us with their bows, they demanded what we were, ſuppoſing us to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on us in the water: but ſeeing we were friends, they welcomed us with ſuch food as they had, and we beſtowed a ſmall bracelet of beads on them. Thus far we are ſure the tide ebbs and flows.

52. Having here again refreſhed ourſelves, we proceeded in our journey, the weather being very hot for travel; yet the country ſo well watered, that a man could ſcarce be dry, but he ſhould have a ſpring at hand to cool his thirſt, beſide ſmall rivers in abundance. But the ſavages will not willingly drink but at a ſpring head. When we came to a ſmall brook, where no bridge was, two of them deſired to carry us through of their own accords; alſo fearing we were or would be weary, offered to carry our pieces; alſo, if we would lay off any of our clothes, we ſhould have them carried: and as the one of them had found more ſpecial kindneſs from one of the meſſengers, and the other ſavage from the other, ſo they ſhowed their thankfulneſs accordingly, in affording us help and furtherance in the journey.

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(76) About ſix miles below Old Indian Wear is a noted wading place. The oppoſite ſhore of Taunton river is in Raynham.

53. As we paſſed along, we obſerved that there were few places by the river, but had been inhabited; by reaſon whereof much ground was clear, ſave of weeds, which grew higher than our heads. There is much good timber, both oak, walnut tree, fir, beech, and exceeding great cheſnut trees.

54. After we came to a town of Maſſaſoyt's, where we ate oyſters and other fiſh. From thence we went to Pakanokick (77), but Maſſaſoyt was not at home. There we ſtayed he being ſent for. When news was brought of his coming, our guide, Tiſquantum, requeſted that at our meeting we would diſcharge our pieces: but one of us going about to charge his piece, the women and children, through fear to ſee him take up his piece, ran away, and could not be pacified till he laid it down again; who afterward were better informed by our interpreter. Maſſaſoyt being come, we diſcharged our pieces and ſaluted him; who, after their manner, kindly welcomed us, and took us into his houſe, and ſet us down by him, where, having delivered our meſſage and preſents, and having put the coat on his back, and the chain about his neck, he was not a little proud to behold himſelf, and his men alſo to ſee their king ſo bravely attired. For anſwer to our meſſage, he told us we were welcome; and would gladly continue that peace and friendſhip, which was between him and us; and for his men, they ſhould no more peſter us, as they had done; alſo that he would ſend to Paomet, and would help us with corn for ſeed, according to our requeſt.

55. This being done, his men gathered near unto him, to whom he turned himſelf, and made a ſpeech; they ſometime interpoſing, and, as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he ſaid. The meaning whereof was, as far as we could learn, thus: Was not he, Maſſaſoyt, commander of the country about them? Was not ſuch a town his, and the people of it? And ſhould they not bring their ſkins unto us? After this manner he named at leaſt thirty places; and their anſwer was as aforeſaid to every one: ſo that as it was delightful, it

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(77) Sometimes called Sowams. See Winſlow. 50. and Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. p. 221.

was tedious unto us. This being ended, he lighted tobacco for us, and fell to diſcourſing of England and of the king's majeſty, marvelling that he ſhould live without a wife. Alſo he talked of the Frenchmen, bidding us not to ſuffer them to come to Narrohiganſet, for it was king James his country, and he alſo was king James his man. Late it grew, but victuals he offered none; for indeed he had not any, being he came ſo newly home. So we deſired to go to reſt. He laid us on the bed with himſelf and his wife, they at the one end, and we at the other, it being only planks laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them. Two more of his chief men, for want of room, preſſed by and upon us; ſo that we were worſe weary of our lodging than of our journey.

56. The next day, being Thurſday, many of their *ſachims*, or petty governours, came to ſee us, and many of their men alſo. There they went to their manner of games for ſkins and knives. There we challenged them to ſhoot with them for ſkins; but they durſt not: only they deſired to ſee one of us ſhoot at a mark; who ſhooting with hail-ſhot, they wondered to ſee the mark ſo full of holes.

57. About one o'clock, Maſſaſoyt brought two fiſhes that he had ſhot: They were like bream, but three times ſo big, and better meat (78). Theſe being boiled, there were at leaſt forty looked for a ſhare in them. The moſt ate of them. This meal only we had in two nights and a day; and had not one of us bought a partridge, we had taken our journey faſting. Very importunate he was to have us ſtay with them longer. But we deſired to keep the ſabbath at home, and feared we ſhould either be light-headed for want of ſleep; for what with bad lodging, the ſavages' barbarous ſinging (for they uſed to ſing themſelves aſleep) lice and fleas within doors, and muſketoes without, we could hardly ſleep all the time of our being there; we much fearing, that if we ſhould ſtay any longer, we ſhould not be able to recover home for want of ſtrength. So that on Friday morning, before ſun-riſing, we took our leave and departed, Maſſaſoyt being both grieved and

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(78) "Probably the fiſh called tataug," ſays Dr. Belknap, Biog. Vol. II. p. 288.

aſhamed, that he could not better entertain us; and retaining Tiſquantum to ſend from place to place to procure truck for us; and appointing another, called Tokamahamon in his place, whom we had found faithful before and after upon all occaſions.

A Voyage made by ten of our men to Nauſet, to ſeek a boy (79) *that had loſt himſelf in the woods.*

58. THE eleventh of June (80), we ſet forth toward Nauſet, the weather being very fair: but ere we had been long at ſea, there aroſe a ſtorm of wind and rain, with much lightning and thunder, in ſo much that a ſpout aroſe not far from us. But, God be praiſed, it dured not long; and we put in that night for harbour at a place called Cummaquid (81), where we had ſome hope to find the boy. Two ſavages were in the boat with us: the one was Tiſquantum, our interpreter, the other Tokamahamon, a ſpecial friend. It being night before we came in, we anchored in the midſt of the bay, where we were dry at low water. In the morning, we eſpied ſavages ſeeking lobſters; and ſent our two interpreters to ſpeak with them, the channel being between them; where they told them what we were, and for what we were come, willing them not at all to fear us, for we would not hurt them. Their anſwer was, that the boy was well, but he was at Nauſet; yet ſince we were there, they deſired us to come aſhore and eat with them; which as ſoon as our boat floated we did, and went ſix aſhore, having four pledges for them in the boat. They brought us to their ſachim, or governour, whom they call Iyanough (82) a

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(79) John Billington. Bradford's M. S. Hiſt.

(80) "This date being inconſiſtent with ſeveral hints in the foregoing and following ſtories, I keep to Gov. Bradford's original manuſcript, and place it between the end of July and the 13th. of Auguſt." Prince's Ann. p. 107.

(81) Barnſtable harbour.

(82) Sometimes called Iyanough of Cummaquid, and ſometimes Iyanough of Mattakees, or Mattachieſt, a territory which included the eaſt part of Barnſtable and the weſt part of Yarmouth. Prince's Ann. p. 108. Gookin's Coll. chap. VIII. §. 2. Coll. Hiſt. Soc. Vol. III. p. 15.

man not exceeding twenty-ſix years of age, but very perſonable, gentle, courteous, and fair conditioned, indeed not like a ſavage, ſave for his attire. His entertainment was anſwerable to his parts, and his cheer plentiful and various.

59. One thing was very grievous unto us at this place. There was an old woman, whom we judged to be no leſs than an hundred years old, which came to ſee us, becauſe ſhe never ſaw Engliſh; yet could not behold us without breaking forth into great paſſion, weeping and crying exceſſively. We demanding the reaſon of it, they told us, ſhe had three ſons, who, when Maſter Hunt was in theſe parts, went aboard his ſhip to trade with him, and he carried them captives into Spain (for Tiſquantum at that time was carried away alſo) by which means ſhe was deprived of the comfort of her children in her old age. We told them we were ſorry that any Engliſhman ſhould give them that offence, that Hunt was a bad man, and that all the Engliſh that heard of it condemned him for the ſame; but for us, we would not offer them any ſuch injury, though it would gain us all the ſkins in the country. So we gave her ſome ſmall trifles, which ſomewhat appeaſed her.

60. After dinner we took boat for Nauſet, Iyanough and two of his men accompanying us. Ere we came to Nauſet the day and tide were almoſt ſpent; in ſo much as we could not go in with our ſhallop; but the ſachim, or governour, of Cummaquid went aſhore and his men with him. We alſo ſent Tiſquantum to tell Aſpinet, the ſachim of Nauſet wherefore we came. After ſun-ſet Aſpinet came with a great train, and brought the boy with him, one bearing him through the water. He had not leſs than an hundred with him; the half whereof came to the ſhallop ſide, unarmed with him; the other ſtood aloof with their bows and arrows. There he delivered us the boy, behung with beads, and made peace with us, we beſtowing a knife on him, and likewiſe on another that firſt entertained the boy and brought him thither. So they departed from us.

61. Here we underſtood that the Narrohiganſets had ſpoiled ſome of Maſſaſoyt's men, and taken him. This

ſtruck ſome fear in us, becauſe the colony was ſo weakly guarded, the ſtrength thereof being abroad. But we ſet forth with reſolution to make the beſt haſte home we could; yet the wind being contrary, having ſcarce any freſh water left, and at leaſt ſixteen leagues(83) home we put in again for the ſhore. There we met again with Iyanough, the ſachim of Cummaquid, and the moſt of his town, both men, women, and children with him. He, being ſtill willing to gratify us, took a rundlet, and led our men in the dark a great way for water, but could find none good; yet brought ſuch as there was on his neck with them. In the mean time the women joined hand in hand, ſinging and dancing before the ſhallop, the men alſo ſhowing all the kindneſs they could, Iyanough himſelf taking a bracelet from about his neck, and hanging it upon one of us. By God's providence we came ſafely home that night.

GOOD NEWS FROM NEW ENGLAND: OR A RELATION OF THINGS REMARKABLE IN THAT PLANTATION: WRITTEN BY E. WINSLOW, AND ABBREVIATED IN PURCHAS'S PILGRIMS, BOOK. X. CHAP. V. LONDON. 1625 (1).

1. THE good ſhip, called the Fortune, which in the month of November, 1621, bleſſed be God! brought us a new ſupply of five and thirty perſons, was not long departed our coaſt, ere the great people of Nanohigganſet (2) which are reported to be many thouſands ſtrong, began to breathe forth many threats againſt us, notwithſtanding their deſired and obtained peace with us in the foregoing ſummer: inſomuch as the common talk of our neighbour Indians on all ſides was of the preparation they made to come againſt us. In reaſon, a man would

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(83.) The diſtance from Eaſtham to Plymouth is not more than twelve leagues.

(1) For the events in the hiſtory of Plymouth, between the concluſion of the foregoing paper and the commencement of this, ſee Prince's Ann. p. 108—115.

(2) Narraganſet.

would think they ſhould have now more cauſe to fear us, than before our ſupply came: but though none of them were preſent, yet underſtanding by others, that they neither brought arms nor other proviſions with them, but wholly relied on us, it occaſioned them to ſlight and brave us with ſo many threats as they did. At length came one of them to us, who was ſent by Conauacus(3), their chief ſachim or king, accompanied with one Tokamahamon, a friendly Indian. This meſſenger inquired for Tiſquantum, our interpreter, who not being at home, ſeemed rather to be glad than ſorry; and leaving for him a bundle of new arrows, lapped in a rattle-ſnake's ſkin, deſired to depart with all expedition.

2. When Tiſquantum returned, and the arrows were delivered, and the manner of the meſſenger's carriage related, he ſignified to the governour(4), that to ſend the rattle-ſnake's ſkin in that manner imported enmity, and that it was no better than a challenge. Hereupon, after ſome deliberation, the governour ſtuffed the ſkin with powder and ſhot, and ſent it back, returning no leſs defiance to Conauacus, aſſuring him, if he had ſhipping now preſent thereby to ſend his men to Nanohigganſet, the place of his abode, they ſhould not need to come ſo far by land to us: yet withal ſhowing that they ſhould never come unwelcome or unlooked for. This meſſage was ſent by an Indian, and delivered in ſuch ſort, as it was no ſmall terrour to this ſavage king; inſomuch as he would not once touch the powder and ſhot, or ſuffer it to ſtay in his houſe or country. Whereupon the meſſenger refuſing it, another took it up; and having been poſted from place to place a long time, at length came whole back again.

3. In the mean time, knowing our own weakneſs, notwithſtanding our high words and lofty looks towards them, and ſtill lying open to all caſualty, having as yet, under God, no other defence than our arms, we thought it needful to impale our town; which with all expedition we accompliſhed in the month of February, and ſome few days, taking in the top of the hill under which our town

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(3) Or Canonicus. Prince. 116.

(4) William Bradford.

is ſeated; making four bulwarks or jetties without the ordinary circuit of the pale, from whence we could defend the whole town; in three whereof are gates, and the fourth in time to be. This being done, Captain Standiſh divided our ſtrength into four ſquadrons or companies, appointing whom he thought fit to have command of each; and at a general muſter or training, appointed each his place, gave each his company, giving them charge, upon every alarum, to reſort to their leaders, to their appointed place, and in his abſence, to be commanded and directed by them. That done according to his order, each drew his company to his appointed place for defence, and there together diſcharged their muſkets. After which they brought their new commanders to their houſes, where again they graced them with their ſhot, and ſo departed. Fearing alſo leſt the enemy, at any time, ſhould take any advantage, by firing our houſes, Captain Standiſh appointed a certain company, that whenſoever they ſaw or heard fire to be cried in the town, ſhould only betake themſelves to their arms, and ſhould encloſe the houſe or place ſo endangered; and ſtand aloof on their guard, with their backs to the fire, to prevent treachery if any were in that kind intended. If the fire were in any of the houſes of this guard, they were then freed from it, but not otherwiſe, without ſpecial command.

4. Long before this time we promiſed the people of Maſſachuſet, in the beginning of March to come unto them, and trade for their furs; which being then come, we began to make preparation for that voyage. In the mean time an Indian, called Hobbamock, who ſtill lived in the town, told us that he feared the Maſſachuſets, or Maſſachuſeuks, for they ſo called the people of that place, were joined in confederacy with the Nanohigganneuks, or people of Nanohigganſet, and that they therefore would take this opportunity to cut off Captain Standiſh and his company abroad; but howſoever, in the mean time, it was to be feared that the Nanohigganeuks would aſſault the town at home; giving many reaſons for his jealouſy, as alſo that Tiſquantum was in the confederacy, who, we ſhould find, would uſe many perſuaſions to draw us from

our ſhallops to the Indians' houſes for their better advantage.

5. Notwithſtanding, the forenamed Captain with ten men, accompanied with Hobbamock and Tiſquantum, ſet forwards for the Maſſachuſets: but were no ſooner turned the point of the harbour, called the Gurnet's Noſe, where, being becalmed, we let fall our grapnel, to ſet things to rights, and prepare to row, but there came an Indian of Tiſquantum's family, running to certain of our people, that were from home, with all eagerneſs, having his face wounded, and the blood ſtill freſh on the ſame, calling to them to repair home, oft looking behind him, as if ſome others had him in chaſe; ſaying that at Namaſchet, a town ſome fifteen miles from us, there were many of the Nanohigganſets, Maſſaſſowat (5) our ſuppoſed friend, and Conbatant(6), our feared enemy, with many others, with a reſolution to take advantage on the preſent opportunity, to aſſault the town in the Captain's abſence; affirming that he received the wound in his face for ſpeaking in our behalf, and by flight eſcaped; looking oft backward, as if he ſuſpected them to be at hand. This he affirmed again to the governour; whereupon he gave command, that three piece of ordnance ſhould be made ready and diſcharged, to the end if we were not out of hearing, we might return thereat: Which we no ſooner heard, but we repaired homeward with all convenient ſpeed, arming ourſelves, and making all in readineſs to fight. When we entered the harbour, we ſaw the town likewiſe on their guard; whither we haſted with all convenient ſpeed. The news being made known unto us, Hobbamock ſaid flatly that it was falſe, aſſuring us of Maſſaſſowat's faithfulneſs. Howſoever he preſumed he would never have undertaken any ſuch act without his privity, himſelf being a *panieſe*(7), that is, one of his chief champions or men of valour; it being the manner amongſt them not to undertake ſuch

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(5) Maſſaſoyt, or Maſaſſoit.

(6) Gov. Bradford, and after him Morton and Prince, write his name Corbitant. See Ann. 109.

(7) Prince ſpells this word Pineſe. Ann. 108. See Belknap's Biog. II. 454.

enterpriſes, without the advice and furtherance of men of that rank.

6. The governour cauſed Hobbamock to ſend his wife with all privacy to Puckanokick (8), the chief place of Maſſaſſowat's reſidence, pretending other occaſions, there to inform herſelf, and ſo us, of the right ſtate of things. When ſhe came thither, and ſaw all things quiet, and that no ſuch matter was or had been intended, ſhe told Maſſaſſowat what had happened at Plymouth, by them called Patuxet; which when he underſtood, he was much offended at the carriage of Tiſquantum; returning many thanks to the governour for his good thoughts of him; and aſſuring him, that according to their firſt articles of peace, he would ſend word and give warning, when any ſuch buſineſs was towards.

7. Thus by degrees we began to diſcover Tiſquantum; whoſe ends were only to make himſelf great in the eyes of his countrymen, by means of his nearneſs and favour with us; not caring who fell, ſo he ſtood. In general his courſe was, to perſuade them he could lead us to peace or war at his pleaſure; and would oft threaten the Indians, ſending them word in a private manner, we were intended ſhortly to kill them, that thereby he might get gifts to himſelf, to work their peace; inſomuch as they had him in greater eſteem than many of their ſachims: yea they themſelves ſought to him, who promiſed them peace in reſpect of us, yea and protection alſo, ſo as they would reſort to him. So that whereas divers were wont to rely on Maſſaſſowat for protection, and reſort to his abode, now they began to leave him, and ſeek after Tiſquantum. But when we underſtood his dealings, we certified all the Indians of our ignorance and innocency therein; aſſuring them, till they begun with us, they ſhould have no cauſe to fear: and if any hereafter ſhould raiſe any ſuch reports, they ſhould puniſh them as liars and ſeekers of their and our diſturbance: which gave the Indians good ſatisfaction on all ſides.

8. After this we proceeded in our voyage to the Maſſachuſets; where we had good ſtore of trade, and, bleſſed be

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(8) Pokanoket. Belkn. Biog.

God! returned in ſafety, though driven from before our town in great danger and extremity of weather.

9. At our return we found Maſſaſſowat at the plantation; who made his ſeeming juſt apology for all former matters of accuſation, being much offended and enraged againſt Tiſquantum; whom the governour pacified as much as he could for the preſent. But not long after his departure, he ſent a meſſenger to the governour, entreating him to give way to the death of Tiſquantum, who had ſo much abuſed him. But the governour anſwered: Although he deſerved to die, both in reſpect of him and us; yet for our ſakes he deſired he would ſpare him; and the rather, becauſe without him he knew not well how to underſtand himſelf, or any other the Indians.

10. With this anſwer the meſſenger returned; but came again not long after, accompanied with divers others, demanding him, from Maſſaſſowat their maſter, as being one of his ſubjects, whom by our firſt articles of peace we could not retain: yet becauſe he would not willingly do it without the governour's approbation, offered him many beavers' ſkins for his conſent thereto; ſaying, that according to their manner, their ſachim had ſent his own knife, and therewith to cut off his head and hands, and bring them to him.

11. To which the governour anſwered: It was not the manner of the Engliſh to ſell men's lives at a price, but when they had deſerved juſtly to die, to give them their reward; and therefore refuſed their beavers as a gift: but ſent for Tiſquantum; who, though he knew their intent, yet offered not to fly, but came and accuſed Hobbamock as the author and worker of his overthrow; yielding himſelf to the governour, to be ſent or not, according as he thought meet.

12. But at the inſtant when our governour was ready to deliver him into the hands of his executioners, a boat was ſeen at ſea to croſs before our town, and fall behind a head-land not far off. Whereupon, having heard many rumours of the French, and not knowing whether there were any combination between the ſavages and them, the governour told the Indians, he would firſt know what boat that was, ere he would deliver him into their cuſtody.

But being mad with rage and impatient at delay, they departed in great heat.

13. Here let me not omit one notable, though wicked, practice of this Tiſquantum; who, to the end he might poſſeſs his countrymen with the greater fear of us, and ſo conſequently of himſelf, told them we had the plague buried in our ſtore houſe; which, at our pleaſure, we could ſend forth to what place or people we would, and deſtroy them therewith, though we ſtirred not from home. Being, upon the forenamed brabbles, ſent for by the governour to this place, where Hobbamock was and ſome other of us, the ground being broke in the midſt of the houſe, whereunder certain barrels of powder were buried, though unknown to him, Hobbamock aſked him, what it meant? To whom he readily anſwered: That was the place, wherein the plague was buried, whereof he formerly told him and others. After this Hobbamock aſked one of our people, whether ſuch a thing were, and whether we had ſuch a command of it? Who anſwered, No; but the God of the Engliſh had it in ſtore, and could ſend it at his pleaſure, to the deſtruction of his and our enemies.

14. This was, as I take it, about the end of May, 1622: at which time our ſtore of victuals was wholly ſpent, having lived long before with a bare and ſhort allowance. The reaſon was, that ſupply of men before mentioned, which came ſo unprovided, not landing ſo much as a barrel of bread or meal for their whole company, but contrariwiſe received from us for their ſhip's ſtore homeward. Neither were the ſetters forth thereof altogether to be blamed therein; but rather certain amongſt ourſelves, who were too prodigal in their writing and reporting that plenty we enjoyed. But that I may return.

15. This boat proved to be a ſhallop, that belonged to a fiſhing ſhip, called the Sparrow, ſet forth by Maſter Thomas Weſton, late merchant and citizen of London; which brought ſix or ſeven paſſengers at his charge, that ſhould before have been landed at our plantation; who alſo brought no more proviſion for the preſent, than ſerved the boat's gang for their return to the ſhip; which made her voyage at a place called Damarin's cove, near Munhiggen, ſome forty leagues from us north-eaſtward; about

which place there fiſhed above thirty ſail of ſhips; and whither myſelf was employed by our governour, with orders to take up ſuch victuals as the ſhips could ſpare; where I found kind entertainment and good reſpect, with a willingneſs to ſupply our wants: But not being able to ſpare that quantity I required, by reaſon of the neceſſity of ſome amongſt themſelves, whom they ſupplied before my coming, would not take any bills for the ſame; but did what they could freely, wiſhing their ſtore had been ſuch, as they might in greater meaſure have expreſſed their own love, and ſupplied our neceſſities; for which they ſorrowed, provoking one another to the utmoſt of their abilities: which, although it was not much amongſt ſo many people as were at the plantation; yet, through the provident and diſcreet care of the governours, recovered and preſerved ſtrength till our own crop on the ground was ready.

16. Having diſpatched there, I returned home with all ſpeed convenient; where I found the ſtate of the colony much weaker than when I left it: for till now we were never without ſome bread; the want whereof much abated the ſtrength and fleſh of ſome, and ſwelled others. But here it may be ſaid, if the country abound with fiſh and fowl in ſuch meaſure as is reported, how could men undergo ſuch meaſure of hardneſs, except through their own negligence? I anſwer, every thing muſt be expected in its proper ſeaſon. No man, as one ſaid, will go into an orchard in the winter, to gather cherries: ſo he that looks for fowl there in the ſummer, will be deceived in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with us, is from the beginning of October to the end of March: but theſe extremities befel us in May and June. I confeſs, that as the fowl decreaſe, ſo fiſh increaſe. And indeed their exceeding abundance was a great cauſe of increaſing our wants. For though our bay and creeks were full of baſs and other fiſh; yet for want of fit and ſtrong ſeines and other netting, they for the moſt part brake thorough, and carried all away before them. And though the ſea were full of cod, yet we had neither tackling nor halſers for our ſhallops. And indeed had we not been in a place, where divers ſort of ſhell fiſh are, that may be taken with

the hand, we muſt have periſhed, unleſs God had raiſed ſome unknown or extraordinary means for our preſervation.

17. In the time of theſe ſtraits, indeed before my going to Munhiggen, the Indians began again to caſt forth many inſulting ſpeeches, glorying in our weakneſs, and giving out how eaſy it would be ere long to cut us off. Now alſo Maſſaſſowat ſeemed to frown on us, and neither came or ſent to us as formerly. Theſe things occaſioned further thoughts of fortification. And whereas we have a hill called the Mount, encloſed within our pale, under which our town is ſeated, we reſolved to erect a fort thereon; from whence a few might eaſily ſecure the town from any aſſault the Indians can make, whilſt the reſt might be employed as occaſion ſerved. This work was begun with great eagerneſs, and with the approbation of all men, hoping that this being once finiſhed, and a continual guard there kept, it would utterly diſcourage the ſavages from having any hopes or thoughts of riſing againſt us. And though it took the greateſt part of our ſtrength from dreſſing our corn, yet, life being continued, we hoped God would raiſe ſome means in ſtead thereof for our further preſervation.

18. In the end of June, or beginning of July, came into our harbour two ſhips of Maſter Weſton's aforeſaid; the one called the Charity, the other the Swan; having in them ſome fifty or ſixty men, ſent over at his own charge to plant for him. Theſe we received into our town, affording them whatſoever courteſy our mean condition could afford. There the Charity, being the bigger ſhip, left them, having many paſſengers, which ſhe was to land in Virginia. In the mean time the body of them refreſhed themſelves at Plymouth, whilſt ſome more fit ſought out a place for them. That little ſtore of corn we had was exceedingly waſted by the unjuſt and diſhoneſt walking of theſe ſtrangers; who, though they would ſometimes ſeem to help us in our labour, about our corn, yet ſpared not day and night to ſteal the ſame, it being then eatable and pleaſant to taſte, though green and unprofitable. And though they received much kindneſs, ſet light by it and us.

19. At length their coaſters returned, having found

in their judgment a place fit for plantation, within the bay of the Maſſachuſets(9) at a place called by the Indians Wichaguſcuſſet (10). To which place the body of them went with all convenient ſpeed, leaving ſtill with us ſuch as were ſick and lame, by the governour's permiſſion, though on their parts undeſerved; whom our ſurgeon, by the help of God, recovered gratis for them, and they fetched home, as occaſion ſerved.

20. They had not been long from us, ere the Indians filled our ears with clamours againſt them, for ſtealing their corn, and other abuſes conceived by them. At which we grieved the more, becauſe the ſame men, in mine own hearing, had been earneſt in perſuading Captain Standiſh, before their coming, to ſolicit our governour to ſend ſome of his men, to plant by them, alleging many reaſons how it might be commodious for us. But we knew no means to redreſs thoſe abuſes, ſave reproof, and adviſing them to better walking, as occaſion ſerved.

21. In the end of Auguſt, came other two ſhips into our harbour. The one, as I take it, was called the Diſcovery, Captain Jones having the command thereof; the other was that ſhip of Maſter Weſton's, called the Sparrow; which had now made her voyage of fiſh, and was conſorted with the other, being both bound for Virginia. Of Captain Jones we furniſhed ourſelves of ſuch proviſions as we moſt needed, and he could beſt ſpare; who, as he uſed us kindly, ſo made us pay largely for the things we had. And had not the Almighty, in his all-ordering providence, directed him to us, it would have gone worſe with us, than ever it had been, or after was: for as we had now but ſmall ſtore of corn for the year following; ſo, for want of ſupply, we were worn out of all manner of trucking ſtuff, not having any means left to help ourſelves by trade: but, through God's good mercy towards us, he had wherewith, and did ſupply our wants on that kind competently.

22. In the end of September, or beginning of October, Maſter Weſton's biggeſt ſhip, called the Charity, returned

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(9) The harbour of Boſton.

(10) Or Weſſaguſſet, now called Weymouth. Hutch. I. 5.

for England, and left their colony ſufficiently victualled, as ſome of moſt credit amongſt them reported. The leſſer, called the Swan, remained with his colony, for their further help. At which time they deſired to join in partnerſhip with us, to trade for corn; to which our governour and his aſſiſtant (11) agreed, upon ſuch equal conditions, as were drawn and confirmed between them and us. The chief places aimed at were to the ſouthward of Cape Cod; and the more, becauſe Tiſquantum, whoſe peace before this time was wrought with Maſſaſſowat, undertook to diſcover unto us that ſuppoſed, and ſtill hoped, paſſage within the ſhoals.

23. Both colonies being thus agreed, our governour in his own perſon ſupplied the Captain's place; and, in the month of November, ſet forth, having Tiſquantum for his interpreter and pilot; who affirmed he had twice paſſed within the ſhoals of Cape Cod, both with Engliſh and French. Neverthelеſs they went ſo far with him, as the maſter of the ſhip ſaw no hope of paſſage: but being, as he thought, in danger, bare up, and according to Tiſquantum's directions, made for an harbour not far from them, at a place called Manamoyck (12); which they found, and ſounding it with their ſhallop, found the channel, though but narrow and crooked; where at length they harboured the ſhip. Here they perceived that the tide ſet in and out with more violence at ſome other place more ſoutherly, which they had not ſeen nor could diſcover, by reaſon of the violence of the ſeaſon all the time of their abode there. Some judged the entrance thereof might be beyond the ſhoals; but there is no certainty thereof as yet known.

24. That night the governour, accompanied with others, having Tiſquantum for his interpreter, went aſhore. At firſt the inhabitants played leaſt in ſight, becauſe none of our people had ever been there before; but underſtanding the ends of their coming, at length came to them, welcoming our governour according to their ſavage manner; refreſhing them very well with ſtore of veniſon and other victuals, which they brought them in great abundance;

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(11) Iſaac Allerton.
(12) Chatham.

dance; promiſing to trade with them, with a ſeeming gladneſs of the occaſion. Yet their joy was mixed with much jealouſy, as appeared by their after practices: for at firſt they were loth that their dwellings ſhould be known; but when they ſaw our governour's reſolution to ſtay on the ſhore all night, they brought him to their houſes, having firſt conveyed all their ſtuff to a remote place, not far from the ſame; which one of our men, walking forth occaſionally, eſpied: whereupon, on the ſudden, neither it nor they could be found; and ſo many times after, upon conceived occaſions, they would be all gone, bag and baggage. But being afterwards, by Tiſquantum's means, better perſuaded, they left their jealouſy, and traded with them: where they got eight hogſheads of corn and beans, though the people were but few. This gave our governour and the company good encouragement; Tiſquantum being ſtill confident in the paſſage, and the inhabitants affirming they had ſeen ſhips of good burthen paſs within the ſhoals aforeſaid.

25. But here, though they had determined to make a ſecond eſſay, yet God had otherways diſpoſed; who ſtruck Tiſquantum with ſickneſs, inſomuch as he there died; which croſſed their ſouthward trading, and the more, becauſe the maſter's ſufficiency was much doubted, and the ſeaſon very tempeſtuous, and not fit to go upon diſcovery, having no guide to direct them.

26. From thence they departed; and the wind being fair for the Maſſachuſets, went thither, and the rather, becauſe the ſavages, upon our motion, had planted much corn for us, which they promiſed not long before that time. When they came thither, they found a great ſickneſs to be amongſt the Indians, not unlike the plague, if not the ſame. They renewed their complaints to our governour, againſt that other plantation ſeated by them, for their injurious walking. But indeed the trade both for furs and corn was overthrown in that place, they giving as much for a quart of corn, as we uſed to do for a beaver's ſkin: ſo that little good could be there done.

27. From thence they returned into the bottom of the bay of Cape Cod, to a place called Nauſet; where the ſachim uſed the governour very kindly, and where they

bought eight or ten hogſheads of corn and beans: alſo at a place called Mattachieſt, where they had like kind entertainment and corn alſo. During the time of their trade in theſe parts, there were ſo great and violent ſtorms, as the ſhip was much endangered, and our ſhallop caſt away; ſo that they had now no means to carry the corn aboard that they had bought, the ſhip riding by their report well near two leagues from the ſame, her own boat being ſo ſmall, and ſo leaky, having no carpenter with them, as they durſt ſcarce fetch wood or water in her. Hereupon the governour cauſed the corn to be made in a round ſtack, and bought mats, and cut ſedge, to cover it; and gave charge to the Indians not to meddle with it; promiſing him that dwelt next to it a reward, if he would keep vermin alſo from it; which he undertook, and the ſachim promiſed to make good. In the mean time, according to the governour's requeſt, the ſachim ſent men to ſeek the ſhallop; which they found buried almoſt in ſand at a high water mark, having many things remaining in her, but unſerviceable for the preſent; whereof the governour gave the ſachim ſpecial charge, that it ſhould not be further broken. And having procured a guide, it being no leſs than fifty miles to our plantation, ſet forward, receiving all reſpect that could be from the Indians in his journey; and came ſafely home, though weary and ſurbated (13); whither ſome three days after the ſhip alſo came.

28. The corn being divided, which they had got, Maſter Weſton's company went to their own plantation; it being further agreed, that they ſhould return with all convenient ſpeed, and bring their carpenter, that they might fetch the reſt of the corn, and ſave their ſhallop.

29. At their return, Captain Standiſh, being recovered and in health, took another ſhallop, and went with them to the corn, which they found in ſafety as they left it. Alſo they mended the other ſhallop, and got all their corn aboard the ſhip. This was in January, as I take it, it being very cold and ſtormy; inſomuch as, the harbour being none of the beſt, they were conſtrained to cut both the ſhallops from the ſhip's ſtern; and ſo loſt them both a

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(13) With galled feet.

ſecond time. But the ſtorm being over, and ſeeking out, they found them both, not having received any great hurt.

30. Whilſt they were at Nauſet, having occaſion to lie on the ſhore, laying their ſhallop in a creek not far from them, an Indian came into the ſame, and ſtole certain beads, ſciſſors, and other trifles out of the ſame; which, when the Captain miſſed, he took certain of his company with him, and went to the ſachim, telling him what had happened, and requiring the ſame again, or the party that ſtole them, who was known to certain of the Indians; or elſe he would revenge it on them before his departure; and ſo took leave for that night, being late, refuſing whatſoever kindneſs they offered. On the morrow the ſachim came to their rendezvous, accompanied with many men, in a ſtately manner; who ſaluting the Captain in this wiſe: he thruſt out his tongue, that one might ſee the root thereof, and therewith licked his hand from the wriſt to the finger's end, withal bowing the knee, ſtriving to imitate the Engliſh geſture, being inſtructed therein formerly by Tiſquantum. His men did the like, but in ſo rude and ſavage a manner, as our men could ſcarce forbear to break out in open laughter. After ſalutation, he delivered the beads and other things to the Captain, ſaying he had much beaten the party for doing it; cauſing the women to make bread, and bring them, according to their deſire; ſeeming to be very ſorry for the fact, but glad to be reconciled. So they departed, and came home in ſafety; where the corn was equally divided as before.

31. After this the governour went to two other inland towns, with another company, and bought corn likewiſe of them. The one is called Namaſket, the other Manomet(14). That from Namaſket was brought home partly by Indian women; but a great ſickneſs ariſing amongſt them, our own men were enforced to fetch home the reſt. That at Manomet the governour left in the ſachim's cuſtody.

32. This town lieth from us ſouth, well near twenty miles; and ſtands upon a freſh river, which runneth

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(14) The part of Sandwich, which lies on Manomet river.

into the bay of Nanohigganſet (15); and cannot be leſs than ſixty miles from thence. It will bear a boat of eight or ten ton to this place. Hither the Dutch or French, or both, uſe to come. It is from hence to the bay of Cape Cod about eight miles (16); out of which bay it floweth into a creek ſome ſix miles, almoſt direct towards the town. The heads of the river and this creek are not far diſtant. This river yieldeth thus high oyſters, muſcles, clams, and other ſhell fiſh; one in ſhape like a bean, another like a clam; both good meat, and great abundance at all times: beſides it aboundeth with divers ſorts of freſh fiſh in their ſeaſons.

33. The governour, or ſachim, of this place was called Canacum; who had formerly, as well as many others, yea all with whom as yet we had to do, acknowledged themſelves the ſubjects of our ſovereign lord, the king. This ſachim uſed the governour very kindly; and it ſeemed was of good reſpect and authority amongſt the Indians. For whilſt the governour was there, within night, in bitter weather, came two men from Manamoyck, before ſpoken of; and having ſet aſide their bows and quivers, according to their manner, ſat down by the fire, and took a pipe of tobacco, not uſing any words in that time, nor any other to them, but all remained ſilent, expecting when they would ſpeak. At length they looked toward Canacum; and one of them made a ſhort ſpeech, and delivered a preſent to him from his ſachim, which was a baſket of tobacco and many beads, which the other received thankfully. After which he made a long ſpeech to him; the contents hereof was related to us by Hobbamock,

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(15) Manomet or Buzzard's bay, which Winſlow miſtakes for Narraganſet bay.

(16) "This creek runs out eaſterly into Cape Cod bay at Scuſſet harbour; and this river runs out weſterly into Manomet bay. The diſtance over land from bay to bay is but ſix miles. The river and creek nearly meet in a low ground: and this is the place, through which there has been a talk of making a canal, this forty years; which would be a vaſt advantage to all theſe countries, by ſaving the long and dangerous navigation round the Cape, and through the ſhoals adjoining." Prince. 106. A. D. 1736. See deſcription of Sandwich. p. 122.

mock, who then accompanied the governour for his guide, to be as followeth. It happened that two of their men fell out, as they were in game (for they uſe gaming as much as any where, and will play away all, even their ſkin from their backs, yea their wive's ſkins alſo, though it may be they are many miles diſtant from them, as myſelf have ſeen) and growing to great heat, the one killed the other. The actor of this fact was a Powah (17), one of ſpecial note amongſt them, and ſuch an one as they could not well miſs; yet another people greater than themſelves threatened them with war, if they would not put him to death. The party offending was in hold; neither would their ſachim do one way or other till their return, reſting upon him for advice and furtherance in ſo weighty a matter. After this there was ſilence a ſhort time. At length, men gave their judgment what they thought beſt. Amongſt others, he aſked Hobbamock what he thought. Who anſwered, He was but a ſtranger to them; but thought it was better that one ſhould die than many, ſince he had deſerved it, and the reſt were innocent. Whereupon he paſſed the ſentence of death upon him.

34. Not long after, having no great quantity of corn left, Captain Standiſh went again with a ſhallop to Mattachieſt, meeting alſo with the like extremity of weather, both of wind, ſnow, and froſt; inſomuch as they were frozen in the harbour, the firſt night they entered the ſame. Here they pretended their wonted love, and ſpared them a good quantity of corn to confirm the ſame. Strangers alſo came to this place, pretending only to ſee him and his company, whom they never ſaw before that time, but intending to join with the reſt to kill them, as after appeared. But being forced through extremity to lodge in their houſes, which they much preſſed, God poſſeſſed the heart of the Captain with juſt jealouſy, giving ſtrait command, that as one part of his company ſlept, the reſt ſhould wake, declaring ſome things to them which he underſtood, whereof he could make no good conſtruction.

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(17) See Belkn. Biog. II. 452. Williams' Key. chap. XXI. Gookin. chap. III. §. 13. Hutch. I. 474.

35. Some of the Indians, eſpying a fit opportunity, ſtole ſome beads alſo from him; which he no ſooner perceived, having not above ſix men with him, drew them all from the boat, and ſet them on their guard about the ſachim's houſe, where the moſt of the people were; threatening to fall upon them without further delay, if they would not forthwith reſtore them; ſignifying to the ſachim eſpecially, and ſo to them all, that as he would not offer the leaſt injury, ſo he would not receive any at their hands, which ſhould eſcape without puniſhment or due ſatisfaction. Hereupon the ſachim beſtirred him to find out the party; which, when he had done, cauſed him to return again to the ſhallop, and came to the Captain, deſiring him to ſearch, whether they were not about the boat; who, ſuſpecting their knavery, ſent one, who found them lying openly upon the boat's cuddy. Yet to appeaſe his anger, they brought corn afreſh to trade; inſomuch as he laded his ſhallop, and ſo departed. This accident ſo daunted their courage, as they durſt not attempt any thing againſt him. So that, through the good mercy and providence of God, they returned in ſafety. At this place the Indians get abundance of baſs both ſummer and winter; for it being now February, they abounded with them.

36. In the beginning of March, having refreſhed himſelf, he took a ſhallop, and went to Manomet, to fetch home that which the governour had formerly bought, hoping to get more from them; but was deceived in his expectation, not finding that entertainment he found elſewhere, and the governour had there received. The reaſon whereof, and of the treachery intended in the place before ſpoken of, was not then known unto us, but afterwards: wherein may be obſerved the abundant mercies of God, working with his providence for our good. Captain Standiſh being now far from the boat, and not above two or three of our men with him, and as many with the ſhallop, was not long at Canacum, the ſachim's houſe, but in came two of the Maſſachuſet men. The chief of them was called Wituwamat, a notable inſulting villain, one who had formerly imbrued his hands in the blood of Engliſh and French, and had oft boaſted of his own valour, and derided their weakneſs, eſpecially

becauſe, as he ſaid, they died crying, making ſour faces, more like children than men.

37. This villain took a dagger from about his neck, which he had gotten of Maſter Weſton's people, and preſented it to the ſachim; and after made a long ſpeech in an audacious manner, framing it in ſuch ſort, as the Captain, though he be the beſt linguiſt amongſt us, could not gather any thing from it. The end of it was afterward diſcovered to be as followeth. The Maſſachuſeuks formerly concluded to ruinate Maſter Weſton's colony; and thought themſelves, being about thirty or forty men ſtrong, enough to execute the ſame. Yet they durſt not attempt it, till ſuch time as they had gathered more ſtrength to themſelves, to make their party good againſt us at Plymouth; concluding, that if we remained, though they had no other arguments to uſe againſt us, yet we would never leave the death of our countrymen unrevenged; and therefore their ſafety could not be without the overthrow of both plantations. To this end they had formerly ſolicited this ſachim, as alſo the other called Ianough (18) at Mattachieſt, and many others, to aſſiſt them; and now again came to proſecute the ſame; and ſince there was ſo fair an opportunity offered by the Captain's preſence, they thought beſt to make ſure of him and his company.

38. After this meſſage was delivered, his entertainment much exceeded the Captain's; inſomuch as he ſcorned at their behaviour, and told them of it. After which they would have perſuaded him, becauſe the weather was cold, to have ſent the boat for the reſt of his company; but he would not, deſiring, according to promiſe, that the corn might be carried down, and he would content the women (19) for their labour; which they did. At the ſame time there was a luſty Indian of Paomet(20), or Cape Cod, then preſent, who had ever demeaned himſelf well towards us, being in his general carriage very affable, courteous, and loving, eſpecially towards the Captain.

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(18) Or Iyanough.

(19) See Belkn. Biog. II. 457. Williams' Key. chap. XVI. Gookin. chap. III. §. 3.

(20) Or Pamet, now called Truro.

This ſavage was now entered into confederacy with the reſt; yet, to avoid ſuſpicion, made many ſigns of his continued affections, and would needs beſtow a kettle of ſome ſix or ſeven gallons on him, and would not accept of any thing in lieu thereof, ſaying he was rich, and could afford to beſtow ſuch favours on his friends whom he loved. Alſo he would freely help to carry ſome of the corn, affirming he had never done the like in his life before; and the wind being bad, would needs lodge with him at their rendezvous, having indeed undertaken to kill him before they parted; which done, they intended to fall upon the reſt.

39. The night proved exceeding cold; inſomuch as the Captain could not take any reſt, but either walked, or turned himſelf to and fro at the fire. This the other obſerved, and aſked wherefore he did not ſleep as at other times; who anſwered, He knew not well, but had no deſire at all to reſt. So that he then miſſed his opportunity.

40. The wind ſerving on the next day, they returned home, accompanied with the other Indian; who uſed many arguments to perſuade them to go to Paomet, where himſelf had much corn, and many other, the moſt whereof he would procure for us, ſeeming to ſorrow for our wants. Once the Captain put forth with him, and was forced back by contrary wind; which wind ſerved for the Maſſachuſet, was fitted to go thither. But on a ſudden it altered again.

41. During the time that the Captain was at Manomet, news came to Plymouth, that Maſſaſſowat was like to die, and that at the ſame time there was a Dutch ſhip driven ſo high on the ſhore by ſtreſs of weather, right before his dwelling, that till the tides increaſed, ſhe could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, eſpecially of note, are dangerouſly ſick, for all that profeſs friendſhip to them, to viſit them in their extremity, either in their perſons, or elſe to ſend ſome acceptable perſons to them: therefore it was thought meet, being a good and warrantable action, that as we had ever profeſſed friendſhip, ſo we ſhould now maintain the ſame, by obſerving this their laudable cuſtom: and the rather, becauſe we deſired to have ſome conference with the

Dutch, not knowing when we ſhould have ſo fit an opportunity. To that end myſelf, having formerly been there, and underſtanding in ſome meaſure the Dutch tongue, the governour laid this ſervice upon myſelf, and fitted me with ſome cordials to adminiſter to him; having one Maſter John Hamden (21), a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and deſired much to ſee the country, for my conſort, and Hobbamock for our guide. So we ſet forward, and lodged the firſt night at Namaſket, where we had friendly entertainment.

42. The next day, about one of the clock, we came to a ferry (22) in Conbatant's country, where upon diſcharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us, from a houſe not far off. There they told us, that Maſſaſowat was dead, and that day buried; and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ſhip already. This news ſtruck us blank; but eſpecially Hobbamock, who deſired we might return with all ſpeed. I told him I would firſt think of it, conſidering now, that he being dead, Conbatant was the moſt like to ſucceed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyſt (23), his dwelling place. Although he were but a hollow-hearted friend towards us, I thought no time ſo fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the reſt of the ſachims thereabout; hoping, through the bleſſing of God, it would be a means, in that unſettled ſtate, to ſettle their affections towards us; and though it were ſomewhat dangerous, in reſpect of our perſonal ſafety, becauſe myſelf and Hobbamock had been employed upon a ſervice againſt him (24), which he might now fitly revenge; yet eſteeming it the beſt means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I reſolved to put it in practice, if Maſter Hamden and Hobbamock durſt

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(21) Dr. Belknap ſuppoſes this to be the ſame perſon, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his oppoſition to the illegal and arbitrary demands of king Charles I. Biog. II. 229.

(22) Probably the ſame which is now called Slade's Ferry in Swanzey. Belkn. Biog. II. 292.

(23) A neck of land, in the townſhip of Swanzey, commonly pronounced Mattapoiſet. Belkn. *ibid.*

(24) See Prince. 110.

attempt it with me; whom I found willing to that or any other courſe might tend to the general good. So we went towards Mattapuyſt.

43. In the way, Hobbamock, manifeſting a troubled ſpirit, brake forth into theſe ſpeeches. *Neen womaſu Sagimus, neen womaſu Sagimus*, &c. My loving ſachim, my loving ſachim! Many have I known, but never any like thee. And turning to me, he ſaid: Whilſt I lived, I ſhould never ſee his like amongſt the Indians; ſaying, he was no liar; he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians. In anger and paſſion he was ſoon reclaimed; eaſy to be reconciled towards ſuch as had offended him; ruled by reaſon in ſuch meaſure as he would not ſcorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few ſtrokes, than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians; ſhowing how he oft-times reſtrained their malice, &c. continuing a long ſpeech, with ſuch ſigns of lamentation and unfeigned ſorrow, as it would have made the hardeſt heart relent.

44. At length we came to Mattapuyſt, and went to the *ſachimo comaco*, for ſo they called the ſachim's place, though they call an ordinary houſe *witeo;* but Conbatant, the ſachim, was not at home, but at Puckanokick, which was ſome five or ſix miles off. The *ſqua-ſachim*, for ſo they call ſachim's wife, gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Maſſaſſowat: they thought him dead, but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go with all expedition to Puckanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Conbatant with our there being. About half an hour before ſun-ſetting the meſſenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we ſhould find him living. Upon this we were much revived, and ſet forward with all ſpeed, though it was late within night ere we got thither. About two of the clock, that afternoon, the Dutchman departed; ſo that in that reſpect our journey was fruſtrate.

45. When we came thither, we found the houſe ſo full of men, as we could ſcarce get in, though they uſed their beſt diligence to make way for us. There were they in

the midſt of their charms for him, making ſuch a helliſh noiſe, as it diſtempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to eaſe him that was ſick. About him were ſix or eight women, who chafed his arms, legs, and thighs, to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends, the Engliſh, were come to ſee him. Having underſtanding left, but his ſight was wholly gone, he aſked, who was come? They told him Winſnow, for they cannot pronounce the letter *l*, but ordinarily *n* in the place thereof. He deſired to ſpeak with me. When I came to him, and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took. Then he ſaid twice, though very inwardly, *Keen Winſnow?* which is to ſay, Art thou Winſlow? I anſwered, *Ahhe*, that is, Yes. Then he doubled theſe words: *Matta neen wonckanet namen, Winſnow!* that is to ſay, O Winſlow, I ſhall never ſee thee again.

46. Then I called Hobbamock, and deſired him to tell Maſſaſſowat, that the governour, hearing of his ſickneſs, was ſorry for the ſame; and though, by reaſon of many buſineſſes, he could not come himſelf, yet he ſent me with ſuch things for him, as he thought moſt likely to do him good in this extremity; and whereof if he pleaſed to take, I would preſently give him; which he deſired; and having a confection of many comfortable conſerves, on the point of my knife, I gave him ſome, which I could ſcarce get thorough his teeth. When it was diſſolved in his mouth, he ſwallowed the juice of it; whereat thoſe that were about him much rejoiced, ſaying, he had not ſwallowed any thing in two days before. Then I deſired to ſee his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue ſwelled in ſuch a manner, as it was not poſſible for him to eat ſuch meat as they had, his paſſage being ſtopped up. Then I waſhed his mouth, and ſcraped his tongue, and got abundance of corruption out of the ſame. After which I gave him more of the confection, which he ſwallowed with more readineſs. Then he deſired to drink. I diſſolved ſome of it in water, and gave him thereof. Within half an hour this wrought a great alteration in him, in the eyes of all that beheld him. Preſently after his ſight began to come to him. In the

mean time I inquired how he ſlept, and when he went to ſtool? They ſaid, he ſlept not in two days before, and had not had a ſtool in five. Then I gave him more, and told him of a miſhap we had, in breaking a bottle of drink, which the governour alſo ſent him, ſaying if he would ſend any of his men to Patuxet, I would ſend for more of the ſame; alſo for chickens to make him broth, and for other things, which I knew were good for him; and would ſtay the return of his meſſenger, if he deſired. This he took marvellous kindly, and appointed ſome, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning; againſt which time I made ready a letter, declaring therein our good ſucceſs, the ſtate of his body, &c. deſiring to ſend ſuch things as I ſent for, and ſuch phyſick as the ſurgeon durſt adminiſter to him.

47. He requeſted me, that the day following, I would take my piece, and kill him ſome fowl, and make him ſome Engliſh pottage, ſuch as he had eaten at Plymouth; which I promiſed. After, his ſtomach coming to him, I muſt needs make him ſome without fowl, before I went abroad, which ſomewhat troubled me; but being I muſt do ſomewhat, I cauſed a woman to bruiſe ſome corn, and take the flour from it, and ſet over the grit, or broken corn, in a pipkin, for they have earthen pots of all ſizes. When the day broke, we went out, it being now March, to ſeek herbs, but could not find any but ſtrawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful, and put into the ſame; and becauſe I had nothing to reliſh it, I went forth again, and pulled up a ſaſſafras root, and ſliced a piece thereof, and boiled it, till it had a good reliſh, and then took it out again. The broth being boiled, I ſtrained it thorough my handkerchief, and gave him at leaſt a pint, which he drank, and liked it very well. After this his ſight mended more and more; alſo he had three moderate ſtools, and took ſome reſt: inſomuch as we with admiration bleſſed God for giving his bleſſing to ſuch raw and ignorant means, making no doubt of his recovery, himſelf and all of them acknowledging us the inſtruments of his preſervation. That morning he cauſed me to ſpend in going from one to another; amongſt thoſe that were ſick in the town, requeſting me to waſh their mouths

alſo, and give to each of them ſome of the ſame I gave him, ſaying they were good folk. This pains I took with willingneſs, though it were much offenſive to me, not being accuſtomed with ſuch poiſonous ſavours.

48. The meſſengers were now returned; but finding his ſtomach come to him, he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durſt we give him any phyſick, which was then ſent, becauſe his body was ſo much altered ſince our inſtructions; neither ſaw we any need, not doubting now of his recovery, if he were careful. Many, whilſt we were there, came to ſee him; ſome, by their report, from a place, not leſs than an hundred miles. Upon this his recovery, he brake forth into theſe ſpeeches: Now I ſee the Engliſh are my friends and love me; and whilſt I live, I will never forget this kindneſs they have ſhowed me. Whilſt we were there, our entertainment exceeded all other ſtrangers.

49. At our coming away, he called Hobbamock to him, and privately (none hearing, ſave two or three other of his panieſes, who are of his council) revealed the plot of the Maſſachuſeuks, before ſpoken of, againſt Maſter Weſton's colony, and ſo againſt us; ſaying that the people of Nauſet, Paomet, Succonet (25), Mattachieſt, Manomet, Agowaywam (26), and the iſle of Capawack (27), were joined with them; himſelf alſo in his ſickneſs was earneſtly ſolicited, but he would neither join therein, nor give way to any of his. Therefore as we reſpected the lives of our countrymen and our own ſafety, he adviſed us to kill the men of Maſſachuſet, who were the authors of this intended miſchief. And whereas we were wont to ſay, we would not ſtrike a ſtroke till they firſt began; If, ſaid he, upon this intelligence, they make that anſwer, tell them, when their countrymen at Wichaguſcuſſet are killed, they not being able to defend themſelves, that then it will be too late to recover their lives; nay, thorough the multitude of adverſaries, they ſhall with great difficulty preſerve their own; and therefore he counſelled,

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(25) Probably Sokones, or Succonuſſet, now called Falmouth.

(26) Or Agawam, part of Wareham.

(27) Martha's Vineyard.

without delay to take away the principals, and then the plot would ceaſe. With this he charged him thoroughly to acquaint me by the way, that I might inform the governour thereof, at my firſt coming home. Being fitted for our return, we took our leave of him; who returned many thanks to our governour, and alſo to ourſelves for our labour and love: the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

50. That night, thorough the earneſt requeſt of Conbatant, who till now remained at Sawaams, or Puckanokick, we lodged with him at Mattapuyſt. By the way I had much conference with him, ſo likewiſe at his houſe; he being a notable politician, yet full of merry jeſts and ſquibs, and never better pleaſed, than when the like are returned again upon him. Amongſt other things he aſked me, If in caſe he were thus dangerouſly ſick, as Maſſaſſowat had been, and ſhould ſend word thereof to Patuxet for *maſkiet*, that is, phyſick, whether then Maſter Governour would ſend it? and if he would, whether I would come therewith to him? To both which I anſwered, Yea; whereat he gave me many joyful thanks. After that, being at his houſe, he demanded further, How we durſt, being but two, come ſo far into the country? I anſwered, Where was true love, there was no fear; and my heart was ſo upright towards them, that for my own part I was fearleſs to come amongſt them. But, ſaid he, If your love be ſuch, and it bring forth ſuch fruits, how cometh it to paſs, that when we come to Patuxet, you ſtand upon your guard, with the mouths of your pieces preſented towards us? Whereupon I anſwered, It was the moſt honourable and reſpective entertainment we could give them; it being an order amongſt us ſo to receive our beſt reſpected friends; and as it was uſed on the land, ſo the ſhips obſerved it alſo at ſea, which Hobbamock knew and had ſeen it obſerved. But ſhaking the head, he anſwered, that he liked not ſuch ſalutations.

51. Further, obſerving us to crave a bleſſing on our meat before we did eat, and after to give thanks for the ſame, he aſked us, what was the meaning of that ordinary cuſtom? Hereupon I took occaſion to tell them of God's works of creation and preſervation, of the laws and ordinances,

dinances, eſpecially of the ten commandments; all which they hearkened unto with great attention, and liked well of; only the ſeventh commandment they excepted againſt, thinking there were many inconveniences in it, that a man ſhould be tied to one woman; about which we reaſoned a good time. Alſo I told them, that whatſoever good things we had, we received from God, as the author and giver thereof; and therefore craved his bleſſing upon that we had, and were about to eat, that it might nouriſh and ſtrengthen our bodies; and having eaten ſufficiently, being ſatisfied therewith, we again returned thanks to the ſame our God, for that our refreſhing, &c. This all of them concluded to be very well; and ſaid, they believed almoſt all the ſame things, and that the ſame power that we called God, they called *Kichtan* (28). Much profitable conference was occaſioned hereby, which would be too tedious to relate, yet was no leſs delightful to them, than comfortable to us. Here we remained only that night, but never had better entertainment amongſt any of them.

52. The day following, in our journey, Hobbamock told me of the private conference he had with Maſſaſſowat, and how he charged him perfectly to acquaint me therewith, as I ſhowed before; which being done, he uſed many arguments himſelf to move us thereunto. That night we lodged at Namaſket; and the day following, about the mid-way between it and home, we met two Indians, who told us, that Captain Standiſh was that day gone to the Maſſachuſets. But contrary winds again drove him back; ſo that we found him at home; where the Indian of Paomet ſtill was, being very importunate that the Captain ſhould take the firſt opportunity of a fair wind to go with him. But their ſecret and villanous purpoſes being, thorough God's mercy, now made known, the governour cauſed Captain Standiſh to ſend him away, without any diſtaſte or manifeſtation of anger, that we might the better effect and bring to paſs that which ſhould be thought moſt neceſſary.

53. Before this journey we heard many complaints, both by the Indians, and ſome others of beſt deſert amongſt Maſter Weſton's colony, how exceedingly their company

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(28) See Belkn. Biog. II. 451.

abaſed themſelves by undirect means, to get victuals from the Indians, who dwelt not far from them, fetching them wood and water, &c. and all for a meal's meat; whereas, in the mean time, they might with diligence have gotten enough to have ſerved them three or four times. Other by night brake the earth, and robbed the Indians' ſtore; for which they had been publickly ſtocked and whipped, and yet was there ſmall amendment. This was about the end of February; at which time they had ſpent all their bread and corn, not leaving any for ſeed, neither would the Indians lend or ſell them any more upon any terms. Hereupon they had thought to take it by violence; and to that ſpiked up every entrance into their town, being well impaled, ſave one, with a full reſolution to proceed. But ſome more honeſtly minded adviſed John Sanders, their overſeer, firſt to write to Plymouth; and if the governour adviſed him thereunto, he might the better do it. They ſent; and our governour writ divers reaſons of diſlike. With theſe letters we diſpatched the meſſenger: upon the receipt whereof they altered their determination, reſolving to ſhift as they could, till the return of John Sanders from Munhiggen; who firſt coming to Plymouth, notwithſtanding our own neceſſities, the governour ſpared him ſome corn, to carry them to Munhiggen. But not having ſufficient for the ſhip's-ſtore, he took a ſhallop, and leaving others with inſtructions to overſee things till his return, ſet forward about the end of February: ſo that he knew not of this conſpiracy of the Indians before his going; neither was it known to any of us till our return from Sawaams, or Puckanokick: at which time alſo another ſachim, called Waſſapinewat, brother to Obtakieſt, the ſachim of the Maſſachuſets, who had formerly ſmarted for partaking with Conbatant, and fearing the like again, to purge himſelf, revealed the ſame thing.

54. The three and twentieth of March being now come, which is a yearly court day, the governour, having a publick teſtimony, and many circumſtances agreeing with the truth thereof, not being to undertake war without the conſent of the body of the company, made known the ſame in publick court. We came to this concluſion, that Captain Standiſh ſhould take ſo many men, as he

thought ſufficient to make his party good againſt all the Indians in the Maſſachuſet bay; and becauſe, as all men know that have to do with them in that kind, it is impoſſible to deal with them upon open defiance, but to take them in ſuch traps as they lay for others; therefore he ſhould pretend trade as at other times: but firſt go to the Engliſh, and acquaint them with the plot, and the end of his own coming, that comparing it with their carriages towards them, he might better judge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to revenge the ſame: but ſhould forbear, if it were poſſible, till ſuch time as he could make ſure Wituwamat, that bloody and bold villain before ſpoken of; whoſe head he had order to bring with him, that he might be a warning and terrour to all that diſpoſition.

55. Upon this Captain Standiſh made choice of eight men, and would not take more, becauſe he would prevent jealouſy, knowing their guilty conſciences would ſoon be provoked thereunto. But on the next day, before he could go, came one of Maſter Weſton's company by land unto us, with his pack at his back, who made a pitiful narration of their lamentable and weak eſtate, and of the Indians' carriages, whoſe boldneſs increaſed abundantly; inſomuch as the victuals they got, they would take it out of their pots, and eat before their faces; yea, if in any thing they gainſaid them, they were ready to hold a knife at their breaſts: that to give them content, ſince John Sanders went to Munhiggen, they had hanged (29) one of them that ſtole their corn, and yet they regarded it not: that another of their company was turned ſavage: that their people had moſt forſaken the town, and made their rendezvous where they got their victuals, becauſe they would not take pains to bring it home: that they had ſold their clothes for corn, and were ready to ſtarve both with cold and hunger alſo, becauſe they could not endure to get victuals by reaſon of their nakedneſs: and that they were diſperſed into three companies, ſcarce having any powder and ſhot left. As this relation was grievous to us, ſo it gave us good encouragement to pro-

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(29) See Butler's Hudibras. part ii. canto ii. line 403, &c. and Belkn. Biog. II. 318.

ceed in our intendments, for which Captain Standiſh was now fitted; and the wind coming fair, the next day ſet forth for the Maſſachuſets.

56. The Indians at the Maſſachuſets miſſed this man; and ſuſpecting his coming to us, as we conceive, ſent one after him, and gave out that he would never come to Patuxet, but that ſome wolves or bears would eat him: but we know, *not* (30) by our own experience, and the reports of others, that though they find a man ſleeping, yet ſo ſoon as there is life diſcerned, they fear and ſhun him. This Indian miſſed him but very little; and miſſing him, paſſed by the town and went to Manomet: whom we hoped to take at his return, as afterward we did. Now was our fort made fit for ſervice, and ſome ordnance mounted; and though it may ſeem long work, it being ten months ſince it begun; yet we muſt note, that where ſo great a work is begun with ſuch ſmall means, a little time cannot bring it to perfection. Beſide, thoſe works which tend to the preſervation of man, the enemy of mankind will hinder what in him lieth, ſometimes blinding the judgment, and cauſing reaſonable men to reaſon againſt their own ſafety. The Indian laſt mentioned, in his return from Manomet, came through the town, pretending ſtill friendſhip and in love to ſee us; but as formerly others, ſo his end was to ſee, whether we continued ſtill in health and ſtrength, or fell into weakneſs, like their neighbours; which they hoped and looked for, (though God in his mercy provided better for us) and he knew would be glad tidings to his countrymen. But here the governour ſtayed him; and ſending for him to the fort, there gave the guard charge of him as their priſoner; where he told him he muſt be contented to remain, till the return of Captain Standiſh from the Maſſachuſets. So he was locked in a chain to a ſtaple in the court of guard, and there kept. Thus was our fort hanſelled, this being the firſt day, as I take it, that ever any watch was there kept.

57 The Captain being now come to the Maſſachuſets, went firſt to the ſhip; but found neither man, or ſo much as a dog therein. Upon the diſcharge of a muſket, the

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(30) The word *not* is probably an errour of the preſs.

maſter and ſome others of the plantation ſhowed themſelves, who were on the ſhore gathering ground nuts, and getting other food. After ſalutation, Captain Standiſh aſked them, how they durſt ſo leave the ſhip, and live in ſuch ſecurity? who anſwered like men ſenſeleſs of their own miſery, they feared not the Indians, but lived and ſuffered them to lodge with them, not having ſword or gun, or needing the ſame. To which the Captain anſwered, if there were no cauſe, he was the gladder. But, upon further inquiry, underſtanding that thoſe in whom John Sanders had repoſed moſt ſpecial confidence, and left in his ſtead to govern the reſt, were at the plantation, thither he went; and, to be brief, made known the Indians' purpoſe, and the end of his own coming, as alſo, which formerly I omitted, that if afterward they durſt not there ſtay, it was the intendment of the governours and people of Plymouth there to receive them, till they could be better provided: but if they conceived of any other courſe, that might be more likely for their good, that himſelf ſhould further them therein to the uttermoſt of his power. Theſe men, comparing other circumſtances with what they now heard, anſwered, they could expect no better; and it was God's mercy, that they were not killed before his coming; deſiring therefore that he would neglect no opportunity to proceed. Hereupon he adviſed them to ſecrecy, yet withal to ſend ſpecial command to one third of their company, that were furtheſt off, to come home, and there enjoin them on pain of death to keep the town, himſelf allowing them a pint of Indian corn to a man for a day, though that ſtore he had was ſpared out of our ſeed. The weather proving very wet and ſtormy, it was the longer before he could do any thing.

58. In the mean time an Indian came to him, and brought ſome furs, but rather to gather what he could from the Captain's, than coming then for trade: and though the Captain carried things as ſmoothly as poſſibly he could; yet at his return, he reported he ſaw by his eyes, that he was angry in his heart; and therefore began to ſuſpect themſelves diſcovered. This cauſed one Peckſuot, who was a panieſe, being a man of a notable ſpirit,

to come to Hobbamock, who was then with them, and told him, he underſtood that the Captain was come to kill himſelf and the reſt of the ſavages there. Tell him, ſaid he, we know it, but fear him not, neither will we ſhun him; but let him begin when he dare, he will not take us unawares. Many times after, divers of them ſeverally, or few together, came to the plantation to him; where they would whet and ſharpen the point of their knives before his face, and uſe many other inſulting geſtures and ſpeeches. Amongſt the reſt Wituwamat bragged of the excellency of his knife. On the end of the handle there was pictured a woman's face; but, ſaid he, I have another at home, wherewith I have killed both French and Engliſh, and that hath a man's face on it; and by and by theſe two muſt marry. Further he ſaid of that knife he there had; *Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, matta cuts*: that is to ſay, By and by it ſhould ſee, and by and by it ſhould eat, but not ſpeak. Alſo Peckſuot, being a man of greater ſtature than the Captain, told him, though he were a great captain, yet he was but a little man: and ſaid he, though I be no ſachim, yet I am a man of great ſtrength and courage. Theſe things the Captain obſerved, yet bare with patience for the preſent.

59. On the next day, ſeeing he could not get many of them together at once, and this Peckſuot and Wituwamat both together, with another man, and a youth of ſome eighteen years of age, which was brother to Wituwamat, and villain like trod in his ſteps, daily putting many tricks upon the weaker ſort of men, and having about as many of his own company in a room with them, gave the word to his men, and the door being faſt ſhut, began himſelf with Peckſuot, and ſnatching his own knife from his neck, though with much ſtruggling, killed him therewith, the point whereof he had made as ſharp as a needle, and ground the back alſo to an edge. Wituwamat and the other man the reſt killed, and took the youth, whom the Captain cauſed to be hanged. But it is incredible how many wounds theſe two panieſes received before they died, not making any fearful noiſe, but catching at their weapons and ſtriving to the laſt. Hobbamock ſtood by all this time, and meddled not, obſerving how our men

demeaned themſelves in this action. All being here ended, ſmiling, he brake forth into theſe ſpeeches to the Captain: Yeſterday Peckſuot, bragging of his own ſtrength and ſtature, ſaid, though you were a great captain, yet you were but a little man; but to day I ſee you are big enough to lay him on the ground. But to proceed; there being ſome women at the ſame time, Captain Standiſh left them in the cuſtody of Maſter Weſton's people at the town, and ſent word to another company, that had intelligence of things, to kill thoſe Indian men that were amongſt them. Theſe killed two more. Himſelf alſo with ſome of his own men went to another place, where they killed another; and through the negligence of one man, an Indian eſcaped, who diſcovered and croſſed their proceedings.

60. Not long before this execution, three of Maſter Weſton's men, which more regarded their bellies than any command or commander, having formerly fared well with the Indians for making them canoes, went again to the ſachim to offer their ſervice, and had entertainment. The firſt night they came thither, within night, late came a meſſenger with all ſpeed, and delivered a ſad and ſhort meſſage. Whereupon all the men gathered together, put on their boots and breeches, truſſed up themſelves, and took their bows and arrows and went forth, telling them they went a hunting, and that at their return they ſhould have veniſon enough. Being now gone, one more ancient and wiſe than the reſt, calling former things to mind, eſpecially the Captain's preſence, and the ſtrait charge, that on pain of death none ſhould go a muſket ſhot from the plantation; and comparing this ſudden departure of theirs therewith, began to diſlike and wiſh himſelf at home again, which was further off than divers other dwelt. Hereupon he moved his fellows to return, but could not purſuade them. So there being none but women left, and the other that was turned ſavage, about mid-night came away, forſaking the paths, leſt he ſhould be purſued, and by this means ſaved his life.

61. Captain Standiſh took the one half of his men, and one or two of Maſter Weſton's, and Hobbamock, ſtill ſeeking to make ſpoil of them and theirs. At length

they eſpied a file of Indians, which made towards them amain; and there being a ſmall advantage in the ground, by reaſon of a hill near them, both companies ſtrove for it. Captain Standiſh got it; whereupon they retreated, and took each man his tree, letting fly their arrows amain, eſpecially at himſelf and Hobbamock: whereupon Hobbamock caſt off his coat, and being a known panieſe, theirs being now killed, chaſed them ſo faſt, as our people were not able to hold way with him; inſomuch as our men could have but one certain mark, and then but the arm and half face of a notable villain, as he drew at Captain Standiſh; who together with another both diſcharged at him, and brake his arm; whereupon they fled into a ſwamp. When they were in the thicket, they parleyed, but to ſmall purpoſe, getting nothing but foul language. So our Captain dared the ſachim to come out and fight like a man, ſhowing how baſe and womanlike he was in tonguing it as he did: but he refuſed and fled. So the Captain returned to the plantation; where he releaſed the women, and would not take their beaver coats from them, nor ſuffer the leaſt diſcourteſy to be offered them

62. Now were Maſter Weſton's people reſolved to leave their plantation, and go for Munhiggen, hoping to get paſſage and return with the fiſhing ſhips. The Captain told them, that for his own part he durſt there live with fewer men than they were; yet ſince they were otherways minded, according to his order from the governours and people of Plymouth, he would help them with corn competent for their proviſion by the way; which he did, ſcarce leaving himſelf more than brought them home. Some of them diſliked the choice of the body to go to Munhiggen; and therefore deſiring to go with him to Plymouth, he took them into the ſhallop: and ſeeing them ſet ſail, and clear of the Maſſachuſet bay, he took leave and returned to Plymouth; whither he came in ſafety, bleſſed be God! and brought the head of Wituwamat with him.

63. Amongſt the reſt, there was an Indian youth, that was ever of a courteous and loving diſpoſition towards us. He, notwithſtanding the death of his countrymen, came to the Captain without fear, ſaying, his good conſcience

ſcience and love towards us imboldened him ſo to do. This youth confeſſed, that the Indians intended to kill Maſter Weſton's people, and not delay any longer than they had two more canoes or boats, which Maſter Weſton's men would have finiſhed by this time, having made them three already, had not the Captain prevented him; and the end of ſtay for thoſe boats was to take their ſhip therewith.

64. Now was the Captain returned and received with joy, the head being brought to the fort and there ſet up. The governours and captains with divers others went up the ſame further, to examine the priſoner, who looked piteouſly on the head. Being aſked, whether he knew it, he anſwered, Yea. Then he confeſſed the plot, and that all the people provoked Obtakieſt, their ſachim, thereunto, being drawn to it by their importunity. Five there were, he ſaid, that proſecuted the ſame with more eagerneſs than the reſt. The two principal were killed, being Peckſuot and Wituwamat, whoſe head was there: the other three were powahs, being yet living, and known unto us, though one of them was wounded, as aforeſaid. For himſelf, he would not acknowledge that he had any hand therein, begging earneſtly for his life, ſaying he was not a Maſſachuſet man, but as a ſtranger lived with them. Hobbamock alſo gave a good report of him, and beſought for him; but was bribed ſo to do it. Nevertheleſs, that we might ſhow mercy as well as extremity, the governour releaſed him, and the rather, becauſe we deſired he might carry a meſſage to Obtakieſt, his maſter. No ſooner were the irons from his legs, but he would have been gone; but the governour bid him ſtay, and fear not, for he ſhould receive no hurt; and by Hobbamock commanded him to deliver his meſſage to his maſter: That for our parts it never entered into our hearts to take ſuch a courſe with them, till their own treachery enforced us thereunto; and therefore they might thank themſelves for their own overthrow: Yet ſince he had begun, if again by any the like courſes he did provoke him, his country ſhould not hold him; for he would never ſuffer him or his to reſt in peace, till he had utterly conſumed them; and therefore ſhould take this as a warning. Further,

that he ſhould ſend to Patuxet the three Engliſhmen he had, and not kill them : alſo that he ſhould not ſpoil the pale and houſes at Wichaguſcuſſet ; and that his meſſenger ſhould either bring the Engliſh, or an anſwer, or both ; promiſing his ſafe return.

65. This meſſage was delivered, and the party would have returned with an anſwer, but was at firſt diſſuaded by them, whom afterwards they would, but could not perſuade to come to us. At length, though long, a woman came and told us, that Obtakieſt was ſorry that the Engliſh were killed, before he heard from the governour ; otherwiſe he would have ſent them. Alſo ſhe ſaid, he would fain make his peace again with us ; but none of his men durſt come to treat about it, having forſaken his dwelling, and daily removed from place to place, expecting when we would take further vengeance on him.

66. Concerning thoſe other people, that intended to join with the Maſſachuſeuks againſt us, though we never went againſt any of them ; yet this ſudden and unexpected execution, together with the juſt judgment of God upon their own guilty conſciences, hath ſo terrified and amazed them, as in like manner they forſook their houſes, running to and fro like men diſtracted, living in ſwamps and other deſert places, and ſo brought manifold diſeaſes amongſt themſelves, whereof very many are dead ; as Canacum, the ſachim of Manomet ; Aſpinet, the ſachim of Nauſet ; and Ianough, ſachim of Mattachieſt. This ſachim in his life, in the midſt of theſe diſtractions, ſaid the God of the Engliſh was offended with them, and would deſtroy them in his anger : and certainly it is ſtrange to hear how many of late have, and ſtill daily die amongſt them ; neither is there any likelihood it will eaſily ceaſe ; becauſe through fear they ſet little or no corn, which is the ſtaff of life, and without which they cannot long preſerve health and ſtrength. From one of theſe places a boat was ſent with preſents to the governour, hoping thereby to work their peace ; but the boat was caſt away, and three of the perſons drowned, not far from our plantation. Only one eſcaped, who durſt not come to us, but returned ; ſo as none of them dare come amongſt us.

67. The month of April being now come, on all hands

we began to prepare for corn. And becauſe there was no corn left before this time, ſave that was preſerved for ſeed, being alſo hopeleſs of relief by ſupply, we thought beſt to leave off all other works, and proſecute that as moſt neceſſary. And becauſe there was *no* (31) ſmall hope of doing good, in that common courſe of labour that formerly we were in; for that the governours, that followed men to their labours, had nothing to give men for their neceſſities, and therefore could not ſo well exerciſe that command over them therein, as formerly they had done; eſpecially conſidering that ſelf love wherewith every man, in a meaſure more or leſs, loveth and preferreth his own good before his neighbours, and alſo the baſe diſpoſition of ſome drones, that, as at other times, ſo now eſpecially would be moſt burdenous to the reſt; it was therefore thought beſt that every man ſhould uſe the beſt diligence he could for his own preſervation, both in reſpect of the time preſent, and to prepare his own corn for the year following; and bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of publick officers, fiſhermen, &c. which could not be freed from their calling without greater inconveniences. This courſe was to continue till harveſt, and then the governours to gather in the appointed portion, for the maintenance of themſelves and ſuch others, as neceſſity conſtrained to exempt from this condition.

68. In the midſt of April we began to ſet, the weather being then ſeaſonable, which much encouraged us, giving us good hopes of after plenty. The ſetting ſeaſon is good till the latter end of May. But it pleaſed God, for our further chaſtiſement, to ſend a great drought; inſomuch as in ſix weeks after the later ſetting there ſcarce fell any rain; ſo that the ſtalk of that was firſt ſet began to ſend forth the ear, before it came to half growth, and that which was later, not like to yield any at all, both blade and ſtalk hanging the head, and changing the colour in ſuch a manner, as we judged it utterly dead. Our beans alſo ran not up according to their wonted manner, but ſtood at a ſtay, many being parched away, as though they had been ſcorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrown, and we diſcouraged, our joy being turned into mourning.

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(31) The word *no* appears to be an errour of the preſs.

69. To add alſo to this ſorrowful eſtate in which we were, we heard of a ſupply that was ſent unto us many months ſince, which having two repulſes before, was a third time in company of another ſhip three hundred leagues at ſea, and now in three months time heard no further of her; only the ſigns of a wreck were ſeen on the coaſt, which could not be judged to be any other than the ſame.

70. Theſe and the like conſiderations moved not only every good man privately to enter into examination with his own eſtate between God and his conſcience, and ſo to humiliation before him; but alſo more ſolemnly to humble ourſelves together before the Lord by faſting and prayer. To that end a day was appointed by publick authority, and ſet apart from all other employments; hoping that the ſame God, which had ſtirred us up hereunto, would be moved hereby in mercy to look upon us, and grant the requeſt of our dejected ſouls, if our continuance there might any way ſtand with his glory and our good. But, O the mercy of our God! who was as ready to hear, as we to aſk: For though in the morning, when we aſſembled together, the heavens were as clear, and the drought as like to continue as ever it was; yet our exerciſe continuing ſome eight or nine hours, before our departure, the weather was overcaſt, the clouds gathered together on all ſides, and on the next morning, diſtilled ſuch ſoft, ſweet, and moderate ſhowers of rain, continuing ſome fourteen days, and mixed with ſuch ſeaſonable weather, as it was hard to ſay, whether our withered corn, or drooping affections, were moſt quickened and revived: Such was the bounty and goodneſs of our God. Of this the Indians, by means of Hobbamock, took notice; who being then in the town, and this exerciſe in the midſt of the week, ſaid, It was but three days ſince ſunday; and therefore demanded of a boy, what was the reaſon thereof. Which when he knew, and ſaw what effects followed thereupon, he and all them admired the goodneſs of our God towards us, that wrought ſo great a change in ſo ſhort a time; ſhowing the difference between their conjuration, and our invocation on the name of God for rain; theirs being mixed with ſuch

ſtorms and tempeſts, as ſometimes, inſtead of doing them good, it layeth the corn flat on the ground, to their prejudice; but ours in ſo gentle and ſeaſonable a manner, as they never obſerved the like.

71. At the ſame time Captain Standiſh, being formerly employed by the governour, to buy proviſions for the refreſhing of the colony, returned with the ſame, accompanied with one M. David Tomſon, a Scotchman, who alſo that ſpring began a plantation twenty-five leagues north-eaſt from us, near Smith's iſles, at a place called Paſcatoquack, where he liketh well. Now alſo heard we of the third repulſe that our ſupply had, of their ſafe, though dangerous, return into England, and of their preparations to come to us. So that having theſe many ſigns of God's favour and acceptation, we thought it would be great ingratitude, if ſecretly we ſhould ſmother up the ſame, or content ourſelves with private thankſgiving for that, which by our private prayer could not be obtained. And therefore another ſolemn day was ſet apart for that end; wherein we returned glory, honour, and praiſe, with all thankfulneſs, to our good God, which dealt ſo graciouſly with us; whoſe name for theſe and all his other mercies towards his church and choſen ones, by them be bleſſed and praiſed, now and evermore. Amen.

72. In the latter end of July, and the beginning of Auguſt, came two ſhips with ſupply unto us; who brought all their paſſengers, except one, in health, who recovered in ſhort time; who, notwithſtanding all our wants and hardſhip, bleſſed be God! found not any one ſick perſon amongſt us at the plantation. The bigger ſhip, called the Anne, was hired, and there again freighted back; from whence we ſet ſail the tenth of September(32). The leſſer, called the Little James, was built for the company at their charge. She was now alſo fitted for trade and diſcovery to the ſouthward of Cape Cod, and almoſt ready to ſet ſail; whom I pray God to bleſs in her good and lawful proceedings.

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(32) Mr. Winſlow went in this ſhip to England, as agent for the colony, and there publiſhed this Narrative. (Belkn. Biog. II. 299.) To it he ſubjoined an account of the manners and cuſtoms, the religious opinions and ceremonies of the Indians; which is inſerted in the Appendix to the IId. vol. of Belknap's Biography.

MEMOIRS OF THE REV. DR. THACHER.

IT is one of the regulations of the Hiſtorical Society to collect an account of the life and writings of their members as they leave the preſent ſublunary ſtate. Several worthy members have died ſince the publication of our ſeventh volume, of whom biographical Notices *have been given in theſe pages. When this volume was nearly finiſhed, the death of Dr. Thacher was announced by a veſſel from Georgia, a character of him was written in the newſpapers, and an Eulogy delivered in the Church of Brattle-Street by Mr. Emerſon, but it was judged proper by the Committee to preſent ſome Memoirs of ſo diſtinguiſhed a member in this volume of our Collections. The ſhort notice which we had, and the few leaves which are ſpared for the purpoſe muſt be our apology, if the account be not ſufficiently marked with the lines of his character ; or the documents be not complete enough to make the Memoirs worthy the publick acceptance.*

PETER THACHER, D. D. was the ſon of Oxenbridge Thacher, Eſq. of Boſton, a lawyer of eminence, who died in the midſt of his reputation and uſefulneſs. His amiable moral character is remembered by the preſent generation, and his name frequently mentioned in terms of very high eſteem.* Dr. Thacher was his eldeſt ſon, thirteen

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* O. Thacher graduated at Harvard College, A. D. 1738. He died July 8th, 1765, aged 45, at that time one of the four repreſentatives in the General Court for the town of Boſton. He was a learned man, and a good writer. He publiſhed two pamphlets, one, 1760, *On the Gold Coin.* Another, 1764, *The ſentiments of a Britiſh American,* occaſioned by *Act to lay certain duties in the Britiſh colonies and plantations.*

He was the ſon of O. Thacher, Eſq. who was many years one of the Selectmen of Boſton, and repreſentative to the General Court. This gentleman removed to Milton, his native place, was ſeveral years repreſentative from that town, and died, A. D. 1772, ætat. 93 years. He graduated 1698, and for many years his name was in the catalogue, as the firſt among the living. He was ſon of the Rev. Peter Thacher of Milton, who graduated A. D. 1671, and was paſtor of Milton church, near forty-ſeven years. He died A. D. 1727, ætat. 77.

Dr. Cotton Mather preached his funeral ſermon, which was reprinted A. D. 1796, with an excellent ſermon, upon the death of Mr. Robbins, by his great-grandſon the Rev. Thomas Thacher of Dedham.

This Peter Thacher married a daughter of John Oxenbridge, paſtor of the Firſt thirteen years of age when his father died, and then a ſtudent of the publick Grammar School. He was born at Milton, March 21, 1752, the family having retired from Boſton on account of the ſmall pox, which during that ſeaſon, ſpread through the town. There were manifeſt indications of a ſerious mind when he was very young, ſo that it was obſerved concerning him that he never was a child. He certainly preferred books of piety, and the converſation of perſons older than himſelf to the diverſions

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Firſt Church in Boſton, one of the ejected miniſters in England A.D. 1662. He was a celebrated divine In one of the papers found in the Plantation Office, lately publiſhed in *Chalmers' Political Annals*, there is an Account of Men and Things in Maſſachuſetts, ſuppoſed to be written by Randolph a ſpy of the Court. One article is, *Popular preachers*,—Thomas Thacher, John Oxenbridge, John Higginſon.—Mr. Oxenbridge died ſuddenly, A. D. 1674, four years from his ordination.

Thomas Thacher was the firſt miniſter of the Old South Church. He was inſtalled Feb. 16, 1670, and died 1678, during the month of October. Preſident Stiles ſpeaks of him as the beſt Arabick ſcholar known in this country. Where he obtained this information is uncertain. In the *Magnalia*, his oriental learning is mentioned, and we are told that he compoſed a Hebrew Lexicon, but his knowledge of Arabick is unnoticed. His parents deſigned him for the univerſity of Oxford or Cambridge, but he choſe to come over to America; and arrived at Boſton, June 4, 1635. The ſame year he was wonderfully preſerved from ſhipwreck on an iſland between Ipſwich and Marblehead. His uncle Anthony Thacher being there caſt aſhore, called it Thacher's Iſle, and it has bore the name ever ſince. A very particular account of this ſhipwreck is preſerved in Dr. I. Mather's *Remarkable Providences*. It is a *letter* written from Anthony Thacher to his brother Peter, miniſter of Sarum, in England, the father of Thomas. Young Thacher left his uncle at Ipſwich, and travelled the journey by land. The author of the Magnalia ſays, "That he had a ſtrong and ſad impreſſion upon his mind about the iſſue of the voyage, that he, with another, muſt needs go the journey by land, and ſo he eſcaped periſhing with ſome of his pious and precious friends by ſea." He ſtudied divinity with the famous preſident Chauncy; and was ordained at Weymouth, Jan. 2. 1664. He married the daughter of Ralph Partridge, the firſt miniſter of Duxbury; hence the family of Thacher every way is ancient and reſpectable in New-England. After the death of his wife, Mr. Thacher came to Boſton, where he reſided and practiſed phyſick, when a new church was formed, of which he was choſen paſtor.

The Rev. Peter Thacher, of Sarum, intended to ſettle in New-England; but the death of his wife altered his reſolution. He was a man of ſenſe and learning, of liberal principles, and therefore harraſſed by the ſpiritual courts. The writer of this Memoir has ſeen a letter which he wrote to the biſhop of the dioceſe, begging him to excuſe him from reading certain directions of the vicar-general, which he ſaid were againſt his conſcience, and would tend to diſturb the order of worſhip. In this addreſs he ſays, "I never neglected the order aforeſaid out of contempt of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and juriſdiction, as has been affirmed," &c.

This will account for the puritanical zeal with which ſo many of the family have oppoſed *prelatick power*; and may be one among other cauſes of the ſtrong attachment of the late worthy Dr. Thacher to good *New-England principles*.

diverſions of the childiſh age. An uncommon gravity of deportment, and meaſured periods of diſcourſe, in which it is ſaid he imitated his father's manner, drew the attention of others, and became the ſubject of their remark. It was then predicted that he would be a preacher; and add another of the name to the liſt of worthies whoſe praiſe was in the churches.

Oxenbridge Thacher, Eſq. died in 1765. He had fixed his mind upon giving his ſon a liberal education, but, like moſt profeſſional men, more ambitious of fame than deſirous of wealth, he left his family in circumſtances far from affluent. But he left many friends, among them ſeveral reſpectable clergymen, who made every exertion to complete the education of his ſon at the Univerſity, and thereby preſerve the literary honours of the family; whilſt they ſhowed their friendſhip for the man whom they loved, after his remains were in the duſt. Their deſires and expectations were anſwered; and their benevolence received a full reward in the improvement which was made by the youth who obeyed every ſtimulus to exerciſe his talents and induſtry. The preceptor of the ſchool at that time was the venerable Lovel, whoſe opinion had its weight in every thing, and who advanced him forward one claſs in order that he might enter college the commencement enſuing. He was admitted a ſtudent of Harvard College, July, 1765, and received the honours of that ſeminary in the year 1769. He always thought that his education was too much hurried, and felt the diſadvantage through life. His natural ardour led him to preſs forward to the buſy ſcenes of life, and this gave a ſtimulus to an inclination which ought to have been corrected in his *juvenile* years. He would have had a better opportunity to lay up claſſick ſtores, and prepare his mind for thoſe ſcientifick reſearches which unite patient inquiry with the vigour and ardour of the youthful imagination. All allowed him to poſſeſs fine talents; not only a quickneſs of memory and lively apprehenſion of things, but a certain glow of fancy, which made his converſation animated, and his compoſitions very intereſting. He early compoſed ſermons and eſſays. Divinity was his favourite ſtudy. He was more fond of viſiting the ſchools of the prophets than walking in academick groves; and eagerly looked forward to the time when he ſhould diſplay his eloquence and evangelical zeal in the pulpit. He was more qualified to appear as a *Divine*, when he received his degree of Bachelor of Arts, than many who have ſtudied theology through a long courſe of years.

After reſiding ſome months in Chelſea, as maſter of the Grammar School in that place, he commenced preaching, and was immediately deſired to ſupply the pulpit in Malden. September 19th, 1770, he was ordained. Rev. Nathaniel Robbins, of Milton, delivered the ſermon, which was publiſhed; Dr. Appleton gave the charge, and Dr. Eliot the fellowſhip of the churches.

As a preacher he was admired. His charming voice, his oratorical powers, his fluency in prayer, the pathos of his expreſſion were applauded by ſerious, ſenſible people, and gave him uncommon eclat with the multitude. No young man ever preached to ſuch crouded aſſemblies. Mr. Whitfield called him the young Elijah in his prayers, and joined in concert with their opinion, who ſaid he was ſet up for the defence of the orthodoxy, for which New England had been celebrated. In principle he was a rigid Calviniſt. Chriſtians of this perſuaſion were eager to ſpread his reputation; whilſt others, of different ſentiments, allowed themſelves a freedom of cenſure, and ſaid, that his zeal for the doctrine and diſcipline of our fathers abſorbed all his candour and prudence. They, who knew Dr. Thacher the latter part of his life, and were witneſſes of his liberality and moderation; his affection for good men of all denominations; his charity, which was not a milkineſs of candour, like compaſſion for perſons in error, but a ſentiment implying that they have a right to think differently;—they who have converſed with him, and heard him cenſure bigotry, in all its haggard ſhapes, may wonder how ſuch a man could be contracted in his views and uncharitable in his ſentiments; but a little knowledge of human nature acquaints us, that men of excellent hearts may be zealous overmuch, and that even a ſpirit of bigotry may be blended with chriſtian benevolence. For a while it will have influence, till reading, obſervation, and a more liberal view of the ſcriptures expand the ſoul with rational ideas of religion, and a proper acquaintance with mankind.

Among thoſe divines who blazed in the cauſe of freedom, when the controverſy began with Great Britain, Dr. Thacher was conſpicuous. He was zealous; his ardour was manifeſted in the pulpit, in converſation, in making particular addreſſes, and even joining a military corps. No perſon could relate more accurately the tranſactions of the 19th of April, 1775, a day which ſeemed big with important events to this country, which filled every mind with earneſt expectations, and every heart with emotions of reſentment or ſorrow. Having put himſelf under the command of the military officer of the town, he was ordered to remain at home, that he might ſerve the cauſe of humanity in the line of his profeſſion.

On the 5th of March, 1776, he was requeſted, by a number of the inhabitants of Boſton, to pronounce the oration *againſt ſtanding armies*, which had been annually delivered in the Old South Church, to commemorate a ſcene of horror exhibited on the evening of that day, 1770. The people aſſembled in the church at Watertown, and were gratified with hearing the ſubject handled by ſo popular an orator. Theſe orations have ſince been collected into a volume by the title of *Boſton Orations*.

In the year 1780, a convention aſſembled at Cambridge, and afterwards in Boſton, to form a conſtitution for the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts. Dr. Thacher made one of this reſpectable body. Several towns beſide Malden ſent their miniſter for their delegate. It is well known that many came to this convention with more democratick ſentiments than they held afterwards, as they grew better acquainted with the prudence of laws and policy of government. The clergy were generally ſtrong republicans. Some of them oppoſed two branches in the legiſlature. Dr. Thacher was the leader in the debate, *Whether there ſhould be a governour?*—After it had been decided that there ſhould be an executive magiſtrate with this name, he ſtill made a particular objection to the title of *Excellency*. He was afterwards warmly attached to the conſtitution, and eſpecially to thoſe parts of it which did not at firſt meet his approbation. He would frequently relate the progreſs of his mind to a difference of opinion; for he was fully convinced that they were wiſer ſtateſmen who reſiſted the tide of prejudice, and ſecured our political ark from the violence of the popular gale.

When the conſtitution of the *United States* was adopted he was among its warmeſt admirers.

The laſt ſeventeen years of Dr. Thacher's life was ſpent in Boſton. He was inſtalled miniſter of Brattle Street Church, January 12, 1785. The Rev. David Oſgood of Medford preached the ſermon, Dr. Lathrop gave the *Charge*, Dr. Clarke the Right Hand of Fellowſhip.

He was a uſeful labourer in this pleaſant ſpot of the Lord's vineyard, fond of delivering practical truths, but at times explaining the doctrines of our religion with clearneſs. In prayer he was ready, earneſt, and devout. If conciſe, very expreſſive; if extended beyond the common forms of addreſs, not abounding in vain repetitions.

The Univerſity of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity. This of itſelf is no ſpecial evidence of learning. Some of our greateſt divines, unconnected with friends of wealth, cannot look abroad for honours which their merit claims. The title has loſt its *profeſſional* diſtinction in this country. Our clergy rank according to the time they leave the univerſity. But Dr. Thacher was known to ſeveral divines of Edinburgh, and they manifeſted their reſpect for him, by placing his name in the commiſſion they made out, appointing a *Correſponding board* in Boſton, *for propagating the goſpel among the Indians in North America.*

The funds of the London Society had been ſtrangely diverted from their original purpoſe, but the funds in Scotland were ſafely preſerved by the care and prudence of the truſtees, who ſtill apply them unto this ſacred uſe.

Dr. Thacher was an active member of this board, and alſo of the ſociety connected with it, and incorporated by our General Court, A. D. 1787. Of theſe ſocieties, he was choſen ſecretary, after the reſignation of the late Profeſſor Wiggleſworth.

The Hiſtorical Society was inſtituted A. D. 1791. Among the firſt members we find the name of Dr. Thacher. He was one of the ſelect committee for the year 1802; and alſo of the committee for the publication of the preſent volume. Certain materials were to be prepared by him, but his health declining, he was unable to proceed. He requeſted the other gentlemen of the committee to excuſe him from all care by doing his preſent duty; promiſing to double his diligence ſome future time, if God ſhould ſpare his life. They cheerfully took the labour upon themſelves; and they now drop the tear of friendſhip, regretting the loſs of their much loved aſſociate.

It would be wrong to omit certain traits in the character of Dr. Thacher, which ſhow his moral worth.

He was a man of ſingular integrity. A ſtranger to artifice and deceit, he could not diſguiſe his feelings, but expreſſed often his diſapprobation of them in others. He preferred to have his manners ſtyled rough, and his plainneſs of ſpeech cenſured by his acquaintance, rather than be thought capable of duplicity in his words and actions. A polite addreſs, an unaſſuming air, a winning manner have their attractions; but nothing can make up for the want of honeſty:—and how do people loſe their ſincerity and practiſe deception for the ſake of a diſtinction among thoſe who lead the faſhions of the age!

As a friend, he had the confidence of thoſe who knew him; thoſe who were moſt intimate will preſerve in their memories the tokens of his affection or kindneſs. If, in the exuberance of unguarded familiarity, he ſaid any thing to hurt their feelings, it gave him pain, for he meant not to be uncourteous.

His talents for converſation were remarkable. Some have thought he exerted theſe too often, and in publick ſpeaking took too large a ſhare of the debate; but when he had been too *ſlow* to hear and *quick* to ſpeak, he was ſenſible of his error, and diſpoſed to make either a ſerious or a facetious apology. He was fond of anecdotes, eſpecially ſuch as illuſtrated the manners of New-England. In the hiſtory of Maſſachuſetts, civil and eccleſiaſtical, he was more than commonly verſed, having read it from his childhood. And alſo that part of the hiſtory of England, which exhibits the folly and tyranny of the Stuarts; the uſurpation of Cromwell; and the brief authority of the *Commonwealth*. The eſſays, ſermons, and memoirs of thoſe times he could quote from the manly teſtimonies of Ludlow to the crude excreſcences of Goodwin and Hugh Peters.

The Doctor did not encourage dry, argumentative diſcuſſions in ſocial interviews ; yet while others debated, he would frequently throw in a luminous obſervation, which kept the ſubject from being darkened by words of uncertain meaning.

His perceptions were very quick, his mind active,----his activity was manifeſted in many buſy ſcenes, eſpecially when he was an officer of publick inſtitutions. He ſerved ſeveral in an official capacity ;----and to all he was a moſt uſeful member.

In the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, eſpecially in the metropolis, there are many inſtitutions for pious and charitable purpoſes ; for the promotion of literature ; the encouragement of ſcience and the arts. Gentlemen who intereſt themſelves in the concerns of theſe inſtitutions, and have a warm attachment to the objects, may enjoy the ſatisfaction of knowledge and the pleaſures of goodneſs. Dr. Thacher was a member of the Charitable Fire Society, a truſtee of the Humane Society, was a proprietor of the Town Library, all which he aided according to his ability. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and one of the council of the Maſſachuſetts Congregational Charitable Society for the relief of deſtitute widows and children of deceaſed Miniſters. This ſociety was incorporated May 24, 1786, and the Preſident of the Univerſity, who is alſo Preſident of this body, preached a ſermon upon the benefit of the inſtitution. The ſermon was delivered in Brattle Street Church, and a collection made. In the year 1795, Dr. Thacher preached the ſermon which was printed with ſome account of the inſtitution.

At the laſt Convention of Miniſters the Doctor was moderator, and delivered the *Concio ad Clerum*, May 27, 1802. It was a ſolemn and affecting ſermon, and by his manner of addreſſing the Brethren he ſeemed to have ſome premonition that his departure was at hand. His lungs had been affected ſome time, but his friends indulged the hope of a return of health, to which journies in the pleaſant ſeaſon apparently contributed. During the ſummer his pulmonary complaints increaſed, and he was unable to preach more than half the day. His people were ready to eaſe him of his labours every way in their power, and when the phyſicians recommended the milder air of the ſouthern ſtates, they cheerfully defrayed the expenſe of the voyage. Their charity flowed from the heart, and their conduct did honour to their feelings, and to the cauſe of religion and humanity. He ſailed from Boſton, in the month of November, for Savannah, and died on the 16th of December in that city.

Note.—The father and grand-father of Dr. Thacher had been preachers of the goſpel before they entered other profeſſions. An old lady of Milton, who lately died, aged 85, recollected hearing ſermons from Thachers of five generations in direct ſucceſſion : Mr. Thacher of Milton ; his ſon, and grandſon Oxenbridge ; the late Dr. Thacher, and his ſon the miniſter of Lynn ; beſide collateral branches of the family. The elder Oxenbridge preached the firſt ſermon that was delivered to the ſettlers at Punkapog, now Stoughton. One of the old ſettlers of the place, in a kind of rapture, addreſſed Rev. T. Thacher of Dedham, upon hearing him preach—" Your grand-father Oxenbridge was the firſt man that brought a bible among us."

We regret not having room for a Liſt of Dr. Thacher's Publications. For theſe vid. Mr. Emerſon's Funeral Sermon.

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